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ABSTRACT

The introductory essay in this volume presents a case study of class-based organizational control and contestation in secondary schools in Victoria (Australia) in the 1970s, based on a critical perspective derived from the Frankfurt school, a perspective that undertakes to reveal the power structures, class hierarchy, and legitimating ideologies inherent in many organizations. The first section discusses and defines the Marxist concept of class relations and then applies this body of theory to an analysis of the class relations and contradictions within an educational organization, focusing on the contradictory role of teachers and the transformation of control from teachers to administrators. Control also occurs through the dissemination, through education, of selected values that legitimate the status quo. The second section presents the case study, concerning Victoria teachers' 12-year struggle with an antagonistic conservative government for control over the conditions of teaching. The latter part of the volume consists of four readings by separate authors: (1) "Class and Occupation," by E. O. Wright; (2) "Hegemony, Resistance, and the Paradox of Educational Reform," by H. Giroux; (3) "Curricular Form and the Logic of Technical Control," by M. W. Apple; and (4) an article from the journal "Secondary Teacher" on "Teachers' Conditions." An annotated bibliography is included. (TE)

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ESA841 THEORY AND PRACTICE IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Class, Control, and Contestation in Educational Organisations

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Class, control, and contestation in educational organisations

Peter Watkins

Deakin University

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Series Introduction

It is now widely recognised, among theorists and practitioners alike, that the traditions that have informed educational administration as a field of study for several decades are of only limited use in coming to terms with the complexity and value-laden nature of educational practice. The sudden politicisation of the context and conduct of education has raised issues of immediate import that cannot be dealt with adequately by functionalist analysis or behavioural science. The collapse of these theoretical traditions in educational administration has produced a vacuum into which a very haphazard collection of intellectual bric-a-brac has been sucked. As a result, both theorists and the practitioners who look to them for help in an increasingly disordered world are alike in their bewilderment. How can alternative formulations be developed? How can reliable and relevant analyses be made?

The series of books of which this volume is a part is an attempt to explore a variety of intellectual traditions that have, until now, been largely ignored or dismissed by educational administrators. Each of the books is an attempt to bring a particular intellectual perspective to bear on the practical problems of administering education. They are, therefore, diverse in their starting points and in their analysis. What they have in common, however, is a rejection of a purely technical, functionalist approach to educational administration, and a commitment to a critical and reflexive consideration of educational practice.

The ideas presented in the introductory essays are necessarily an encapsulation of arguments that have developed and are developing more fully elsewhere. In order to assist readers to participate in these developments, selected readings are attached to each paper, and an annotated bibliography of key works is provided. We hope that the publication of this series will encourage others to join a necessary exploration of alternative perspectives in educational administration. Such exploration is long overdue.

Course team chairman

Contents

Class, control, and contestation in educational organisations 8
Introduction 8
Class, organisation, and the contradictory class location of teachers 8
The transformation of control 15
A case study of teacher control and contestation 22
Implications for a theory of educational administration 26
Conclusion 27
Appendix A 29
References 31

Readings
1 E. O. Wright
Class and occupation 34
2 H. Giroux
Hegemony, resistance, and the paradox of educational reform 50
3 M. W. Apple
Curricular form and the logic of technical control 75
4 *Secondary Teacher*
Teachers conditions 98
Annotated bibliography 110

Class, control, and contestation in educational administration

Introduction

In the study of any organisation, an understanding of the employment relationship is crucial in revealing why and how organisational controls eventuate, and why and how these controls are sometimes challenged and contested. This monograph argues that this relationship is best understood as a class relationship. It is a relationship between those who buy labour power and those who sell it. Consequently, controls in organisations arise, in part, to ensure that a maximum of labour is extracted from the worker's labour power.

Following Edwards (1979), three main forms of control mechanisms are discussed: simple, technical, and bureaucratic. These control methods have come into operation because management has continually sought a total solution to the problem of labour. However, in each of these solutions there have been inherent contradictions which lead to contestation. Moreover, teachers, as well as being subject to overt control techniques, are also, as intellectuals, subject to more covert, ideological methods of control, especially via the concepts of 'professionalism' and 'a good teacher'.

The monograph then presents a case study of control and contestation as experienced in Victorian secondary schools in the 1970s. This case study draws upon both the author's experience at that time and Addinsall's (1981) excellent study of conflict between the Victorian Education Department and members of the Victorian Secondary Teachers Association during the 1970s.

Finally, a critical approach based on the works of such critical theorists as Habermas is suggested as a means of uncovering the way organisations are structured and the way they operate. Through such a critical perspective, the power structures, class hierarchy, and legitimating ideologies inherent in many organisations might be revealed and understood.

Class, organisation, and the contradictory class location of teachers

The administration of organisations is basically an exercise in the use of overt and covert mechanisms of control. However, before examining the ways in which control is implemented and enforced in organisations, we must ask why such control is necessary. Briefly, the need for control in organisations is implicit in the structure of the relationships between employer and employee: between the buyers of labour power and the sellers of labour power. In essence, this reflects a class relationship, and any examination of control and contestation must therefore take account of the class relations embedded in organisations. As Salaman has succinctly put it:

> A theory of organizations must include a reference to a theory of class . . . without the clear recognition that the design of work, the distribution of work rewards, the process of organizational control and legitimation, and relations between grades of employee within the plant reflect the class relations of the wider society our understanding of organizational process and structures can at best be partial, at worst, hopelessly unreal (Salaman 1981, p. 229–30).

In keeping with this argument, the present discussion commences with an examination of class relations, the ways they are embedded in organisations, and the contradictory location of teachers as members of a group who sell their labour power while still retaining some, albeit diminishing, autonomy.

The concept and structure of class relations

Classes are formed by the relationship of men and women to the entire productive process. This is not merely a technical process, but, more importantly, a social process. Classes are, therefore, constituted as groups of people who share a common relationship to the means of production. In this way, two basic classes have developed in capitalist society — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The former own the means of production while purchasing the labour power of others. The latter, neither owning the means of production nor purchasing the labour power of others, must sell their own labour power to exist. As Marx and Engels wrote:

> Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: bourgeoisie and proletariat (Marx and Engels 1972, p. 49).

In addition there is a group of small capitalists who own the means of production, but who purchase little or no labour power. These are the *petite bourgeoisie*: 'the lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant . . . [who] are not revolutionary, but conservative' (Marx and Engels 1972, p. 59).

Central to the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is the concept of 'exploitation', which refers to the social process by which the 'surplus product of the direct producers (that is, the product over and above what they require in specific historical circumstances for their continued labouring existence) is appropriated by the dominant, owning class' (Zeitlin 1980, p. 2). In this context, one class exploits and the other class is exploited. As Marx put it:

> The specific economic form, in which unpaid surplus-labour is pumped out of direct producers, determines the relationship of rulers and ruled, as it grows directly out of production itself and, in turn, reacts upon it as a determining element. Upon this, however, is founded the entire formation of the economic community which grows up out of the production relations themselves, thereby simultaneously its specific political form. It is always the direct relationship of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers — a relation always naturally corresponding to a definite stage in the development of the methods of labour and thereby its social productivity — which reveals the innermost secret, the hidden basis of the entire social structure, and with it the political form of the relation of sovereignty and dependence, in short, the corresponding specific form of the state (Marx 1966b, p. 772).

Thus, during part of a day's work, which is a day of the worker's productive capacity, the worker works for himself producing his and his family's means of existence. The rest of the day he works for the capitalist, producing surplus value. In the first instance, the worker performs necessary labour; in the second, the worker performs surplus labour.

However, in this discussion of class, it is vital to keep in mind that these classes are not isolated entities, but are formed, reproduced, and transformed through the mediation of class struggle. Thus, the concept of class must be developed in terms of the actual relations that exist between groups of people. This complexity of the class relationship has been well caught by E. P. Thompson in his *Making of the English Working Class:*

> The notion of class entails the notion of historical relationship. Like any other relationship, it is a fluency which evades analysis if we attempt to stop it dead at any given moment and anatomise its structure. The finest-meshed sociological net cannot give us a pure specimen of class, any more than it can give us one of deference or love. The relationship must always be embodied in real people and in a real context. Moreover, we cannot have two distinct classes, each with an independent being, and then bring them *into* relationship with each other. We cannot have love without lovers, nor deference without squires and labourers (Thompson 1966, p. 9).

This view of class means that social classes cannot be removed, in any study, from the capitalist mode of production; rather they need to be resituated and examined on the plane at which class struggle takes place. Thus in modern society, the **proletariat**, or working class, sell their labour power or potential labour in order to exist. They do not own or control their own means of production and so exchange their ability to work for a wage. The function of management, then, entails the extraction of as much of the potential labour as possible in order to achieve maximum productive activity.

Conversely, the **bourgeoisie**, or capitalist class, own and control the means of production. They control the accumulation process, decide on the use of the physical means of production, and control the authority structure impinging on the labour process. They do not sell their own labour power, but purchase the labour power of others.

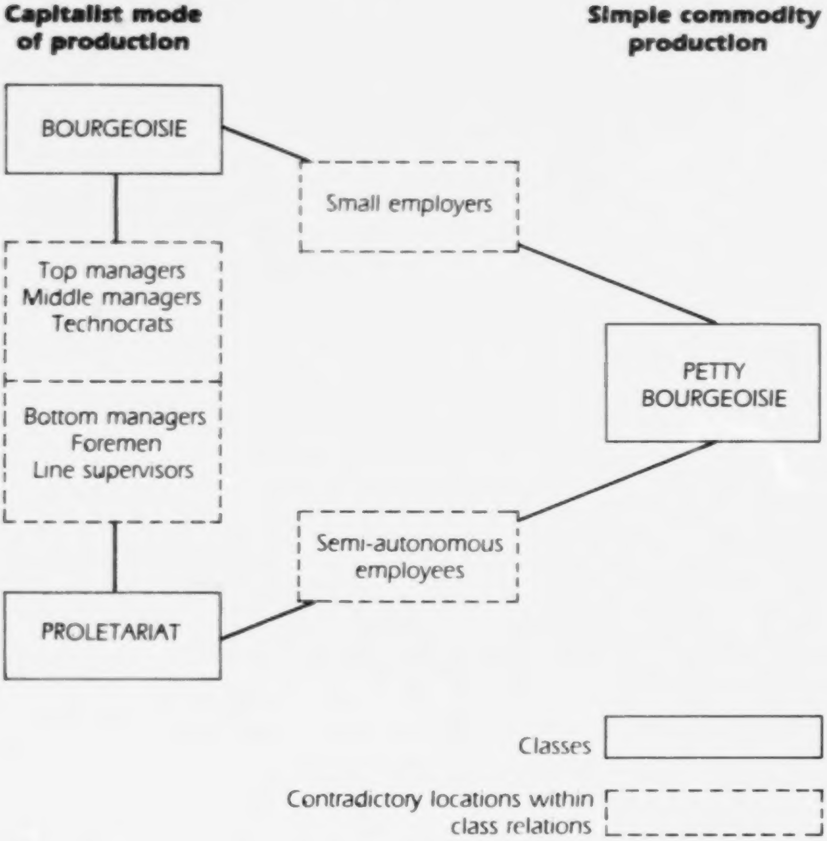
The **petite bourgeoisie** do not sell their labour power and do not, except in very limited instances, buy the labour power of others. They are engaged in simple commodity production, the production of commodities for the market by direct producers. (Marx 1966b, pp. 791–2). Thus they are largely self-employed.

There are, however, a number of people in present society who, while they may not own the means of production, control it. Wright (1976, 1979a) argues that these people occupy contradictory class locations. Contradictory, that is, 'between' the capitalist class (who control, firstly, investment and the capital accumulation process; secondly, the physical means of production; and thirdly, the supervision and discipline within the labour process) and the working class (who are denied control over these three elements).

Wright (1979a, 1980a) points out that 'between' in this sense means that people occupying contradictory class locations are *simultaneously* members of two classes. They comprise three important groups in modern society. (See Figure 1.)

Managers and supervisors are in a contradictory position between the capitalist and working classes. While they share with capitalists supervision and management of the labour process, they share with the working class a wage-labour class position which entails their exclusion from control over the accumulation process and their domination within production by capital.

Figure 1 The relationship of contradictory class locations to basic classes in capitalist society (adapted from Wright 1979a, p. 42, (c) NLB/Verso Editions, London 1978)


Capitalist mode of production
Simple commodity production
BOURGEOISIE
Small employers
Top managers
Middle managers
Technocrats
Bottom managers
Foremen
Line supervisors
PETTY BOURGEOISIE
Semi-autonomous employees
PROLETARIAT
Classes
Contradictory locations within class relations

Small employers have a contradictory position between the *petite bourgeoisie* and the bourgeoisie. While they are directly engaged in the process of production, they also employ and exploit wage labour like the capitalist. However, production is so limited as to restrict capital accumulation.

Semi-autonomous employees are in a contradictory position between the *petite bourgeoisie* and the working class. While they are employed by capital and dominated by capital in the productive process, they still retain some real control over aspects of the labour process.

These contradictory class locations do not imply an 'ambiguous' location or an obscure 'middle class', but rather, as Wright argues:

> They are contradictory in the precise sense that they simultaneously share class interests with two basic classes in capitalist society. Managers/supervisors have one foot in the bourgeoisie and one in the working class, and this means that their class interests are objectively torn between these two classes. Similarly, semi-autonomous employees share class interests with the petty bourgeoisie and the working class. The contradictory quality of the class location of such positions implies that they will play an especially ambiguous role in class struggle, at times siding with the working class, at times opposing it (Wright 1980b, p. 4).

It is important to remember though that these contradictory class positions are not separate classes, but are positions which refer to the basic class relations. While, for example, teachers may have some relative autonomy, they are still workers who have to sell their labour power in order to exist.

Class and the organisation

The social relations of production which define the basic class positions are, of course, found within organisations. Thus work relations are frequently a matter of dispute between capital and labour, because the desire of capital to extract the maximum amount of labour from employees is frequently fiercely opposed and contested. This leads to the mobilisation of material and political resources by each group to ensure that it achieves the most favourable outcome in the workplace. In this way, the 'antagonistic' class relations of the organisation are likely to both constitute and reflect those of the larger society. As Heydebrand puts it:

> Organizations, while they are themselves sites of developing contradictions, are always part of a larger political economy, a macro-social and historical context, and particularly part of a socio-historical formation in which a given mode of production is tending toward dominance over others. The basic contradictions within the political economy of advanced capitalism, e.g., those between state and economy or capital and labour or — *within* capital itself — those between capital accumulation and the realization of surplus-value, will be reflected in the formation and transformation of almost all types of organizations (Heydebrand 1977, pp. 89–90).

However, the modern organisation has been essentially conceived as a method of control that is vital for the maintenance of the accumulation of capital. For, in order to increase or maintain profits through exploitation, discipline and control must be maintained and any contestation reduced. Thus the antagonistic relationship inherent in the production process of organisations ensures that an essentially autocratic form of domination will be maintained.

However, as the size of the organisation increases with economies of scale and reinvestment of capital, the number of workers may increase, resulting in an escalation of contestation in the organisation. Through this class struggle for control of the production process, capital is constantly compelled to wrestle with the insubordination of the workers (Marx 1966b). Such resistance, though, drives capital to introduce machinery or structural devices to reduce to a minimum the resistance offered by man, that obstinate yet elastic natural barrier (Marx 1966b). Thus, the structures and processes inherent in modern organisations reflect the contestation between the major classes for control over the production processes. In this manner, the modern organisation has been developed as a technique for regulating and controlling the personalities and behaviour of individuals in the interests of the dominant class. In the conceptualisation of such a structure, 'the value of efficiency becomes the instrument of regulation, acting so as to eliminate those human characteristics or actions which would deviate from the prescribed path' (Denhardt 1981, p. 73).

While management's power to define both the terrain of contestation and the social relations of production is never absolute, it is, nonetheless, considerable. From management's point of view, the limitation of any degree of worker control is of major importance in deciding how organisations are structured. Various organisational strategies have been implemented to restrict labour's challenge to capital. These include the division of labour into fragmentary tasks, the development of rules and procedures, the appropriation and hoarding of working-class knowledge, and the division of the labour force according to ascriptive characteristics (see Braverman 1974, Marglin 1974, Stone 1975, Edwards 1979, Montgomery 1979, Clawson 1978, Goldman and Van Houten 1977).

However, these strategies have not been implemented in a uniform manner. As Wright has indicated, different types of organisations are located in different positions within the class structure. Consequently, different control mechanisms are employed by capital depending on whether the organisation is in a contradictory location or on a working-class location. In the factory, control may be largely technical and direct, while in the school, it may be more bureaucratic and ideological, depending on the less visible controls of 'autonomy' and 'professionalism'. Consequently, any consideration of educational organisations, and the control and contestation inherent within them, should involve an analysis of the location of teachers within the class relations of society.

The contradictory location of teachers

Although intellectuals sell their labour power and do not own the means of production, they serve capital in a major way by reproducing capitalist culture and capitalist class relations. Teachers' position in the class structure is determined by capital's concern for social control and/or with the production and reproduction of the dominant ideology. On the ideological level, Wright (1979b) has identified three basic class locations relating to education:

The bourgeois class location entails control over the bourgeois ideological apparatuses. This consists of those positions within the educational hierarchy which involve control over the process of ideological production as a whole. They would consist of administrators, officials, and inspectors of schools.

The contradictory class locations are concerned with the distribution of the dominant ideology. These are those involved in the elaboration and dissemination of bourgeois ideology, but not in the overall control of that ideology. People in this location would be the teaching staff of schools.

The working-class locations, in terms of ideology, consist of those positions which neither exercise any control over the ideological apparatuses nor are concerned with the elaboration and dissemination of that ideology. People in this position would be secretaries and janitors.

Teachers, therefore, occupy a contradictory position in the basic class structure. At the level of production relations, they are located between the working class and the *petite bourgeoisie*, for teachers generally have a reasonable degree of control over their work process, but little control over the educational system. At the ideological level, however, teachers are located in a contradictory position between the bourgeoisie and the working class, for teaching is a vital factor in the dissemination and elaboration of bourgeois ideology.

This dual location involves potential contradictions which relate to the relative economic autonomy, and the ideological class location, of teachers. In this relationship, teachers are in a position to undermine the dominant ideology. So there is, on the one hand, a constant demand from capital to reduce the relative autonomy of teachers and to increase capital's control, yet on the other, the capitalist class needs to maintain teachers' intellectual autonomy to ensure the continued production of technical and scientific knowledge. Consequently, controls over the teaching service have to be finely balanced to avoid paying too high a cost. The result is, as Wright points out, that the degree of autonomy of teachers within the social relations of production varies enormously across time and place (Wright 1979b, p. 210).

In times of economic crisis such as have been experienced in Europe, America, and Australia during the late 1970s and 1980s, the problem of accumulating sufficient capital has given rise to cutbacks in the public sector. In education, this has often been associated with attempts to achieve the proletarianisation of teachers and their subsequent deskilling. Attempts have been made to increase teaching loads, to remove the content of curriculum from teacher control, to increase the time of teacher contact, and to limit the tenure of teachers. Also, at the ideological level, teachers have been threatened with proletarianisation through the use of computer technology and programmed learning texts. They are no longer required to elaborate and disseminate the dominant ideology in an active fashion, but to merely push the appropriate buttons for the machine or video-cassette, or hand out the relevant learning guides and texts. In this context, teachers are becoming machine minders as well as child minders. This loss of autonomy and deskilling has parallels with the trends in industry. As Sarup puts it:

> Many features from the factory system, that resemble the time and motion of 'Taylorism', have been introduced into the schools. There has been a systematic fragmentation of different sectors of education, and then *within* each sector. A parallel process in industry is the increasing division of labour. There is the increase of competition, in 'pacing' the rate of expected learning. And, as the period of formal schooling has increased in terms of years, its content has gradually been trivialized. Again, this reflects a parallel process that has been taking place in industry: de-skilling (Sarup 1978, p. 190).

The response from teachers during this time of 'fiscal crisis of the state' (O'Connor 1973) and 'legitimation crisis' (Habermas 1975) has been to increasingly align themselves with the working class and to adopt their methods of contestation. Teachers throughout the world have adopted the go-slow, work-to-rule, stop-work, and strike mechanisms of contestation, heralding a disjuncture with their traditional economic and ideological class location. This increasing militancy has arisen not only to contest the existing and increasing encroachment of school administrators (the ideological bourgeoisie) on teacher autonomy, but also to contest the managerial prerogatives of educational administrators — especially those resulting in fiscal cutbacks and controls which in turn reflect the class struggle between capital accumulation and the Welfare State (see O'Connor 1973, 1981; Habermas 1975).

The concept of class and how it is related to a study of organisations and teachers has been examined in this section. It has been argued that teachers occupy a contradictory class location. However, as their work has been subjected to the same deskilling process as industrial work, their location has shifted and they have become more proletarianised.

This argument is extended in the next section by a discussion of the ways that this deskilling process has transformed methods of control.

The transformation of control

The search for greater control over the labour process has led management to transform the workplace in several ways. Braverman (1974) has argued that the progressive separation of 'conception' from 'execution', or the deskilling of work, has resulted from the increased quest for management control.

For Braverman, the rationalisation of work is related to the increasing control over the labour process for the benefit of capital. So the 'workshop division of labor is imposed by planning and control' (Braverman 1974, p. 73). As greater labour productivity and cheaper labour costs became associated with an increasing division of labour, the representatives of capital were faced with problems of co-ordination so that management became synonymous with the exercise of control. Consequently, effective management could only be achieved when the '*progressive alienation of the process of production* from the worker' (Braverman 1974, p. 58) had been completed. As Heilbroner observes:

> No other lesson emerges more clearly from Braverman's study than that technology and science are not wholly independent variables in history but social forces that adapt themselves to the needs and exigencies of the social milieu in which they are established (Heilbroner 1975, p. 8).

In his study of white-collar workers, Braverman (1974, p. 329) indicates that in the early stage of automatic data processing, craft skills made a brief reappearance because of the need for all the skills to be acquired by each worker. This changed with the subdivision and fragmentation of the work process whereby many aspects could be filled with people with no skills or literacy beyond the sixth-grade level. Management itself described the work as extremely 'boring', and workers with 'no intelligence' were looked for. In this way the machine-pacing of work was used in office work as a control mechanism. The consequence of this was the reduction of office information to standardised 'bits' and their processing by computer systems and other office equipment. Such techniques provide management with an automatic account of the size of the workload and the amount done by each operator, section, or division, thus increasing both supervision and control (Braverman 1974, p. 334).

But while there is deskilling, there is also reskilling. Although the majority of employees may be subject to increased control through the deskilling process, a small number of employees are reskilled. This reskilling usually concerns essentially different people, in a different place and at a different time. And their increased power due to this reskilling makes them subject to the next thrust in the search for complete control. As Zimbalist puts it:

> Mechanization and deskilling of work in one economic sector imply that new processes and techniques are evolving in another . . . sector. These new processes and techniques bring with them the demand for workers with new or initially scarce skills. It is not until a later stage of their development that these new processes and techniques become themselves subjected to rationalization, job fragmentation, and mechanization (Zimbalist 1979, p. xvi).

Such transformations in the processes of control are not limited to manufacturing industries, or to business organisations. Increased control over teachers through the deskilling process has been noted by Giroux (1981a), Apple (1981), and Buswell (1980). They point out that the increasing trend towards core curriculum and pre-packaged curricular materials has led to a reduction in the autonomy of teachers and an attempt to fragment and standardise the educational product. Teachers now see themselves as 'glorified clerks' (Buswell 1980) who do not challenge conceptually, or reflect on, the educational message inherent in the materials they are distributing. The dangers in this trend have been well caught by Apple and Feinberg when they argue:

> The removal of the teacher from participating in the complex issues surrounding the process of producing instructional material can reinforce an image in which the teacher is viewed as only a conduit between the homogenized curriculum and the child. And this image reinforces the impression that teachers need only to know about the techniques of management. In the process, our ability to make reasoned choices and to explain these to the public is diminished (Apple and Feinberg forthcoming, p. 1, cited in Giroux 1981a, p. 301).

The skills required by teachers in the planning, designing, and presentation of an educational curriculum are lost and appropriated in some other level of the educational hierarchy. Even in those schools where there are curriculum committees operated by teachers, there are severe forces bearing down which limit or, indeed, negate teacher input into the conception of curriculum. Firstly, curriculum committees are merely advisory, they have no legal standing. Consequently, their decisions can be, and are, modified or ignored by principals. Secondly, many of the curriculum decisions in secondary schools are made with the requirements of Higher School Certificate (HSC) in mind. As a result the actual conceptual base of curriculum in by far the majority of secondary schools is founded in and originated from the Victorian Institute for Secondary Education (VISE). For example, when VISE introduced an individual research project as part of the assessment for HSC geography the requirements were set out in more detail than a PhD or Masters degree proposal, with hypotheses, methodology, etc. being mandatory and highly structured. As a consequence, this conceptual, positivist approach to research has filtered down through schools as teachers 'prepare' their students for eventual HSC geography. Moreover, it has had the effect of eliminating alternative approaches to research methodology.

Thirdly, as the economic position continues to deteriorate and youth unemployment increases, students and their parents are becoming increasingly wary of school-originated courses. Their main concerns are 'Will it help me get a job?' and 'What will employers think?' Consequently, students often vote with their feet by just not enrolling in alternative subjects, especially when these do not have the imprimatur of an outside body such as VISE, or where they or their parents are sceptical of employer reaction. Thus 'conception' and 'execution' are effectively separated in the teaching process. This separation is implicit in the control techniques employed in industry and education. The three most common control techniques are simple, technical, and bureaucratic controls. However, as these contain contradictions, they have frequently been contested and challenged. But not all control methods are directly challenged. Some achieve a certain degree of acceptance and consent. These are the various ideological forms of control which are particularly powerful and important in education.

Control and contestation in the workplace

Marglin has argued that the centralisation and fragmentation of skills that marks the modern workplace is not related to technical superiority. Rather, these trends are related to control. He points out that:

> A new method of production does not have to be technologically superior to be adopted; innovation depends as much on economic and social institutions — on who is in control of production and under what constraints control is exercised (Marglin 1974, p. 64).

Similarly, Gorz (1972) has claimed that a technology that promotes the fragmentation and deskilling of the workplace is implemented for one fundamental reason: to reduce the control that employees may have over the work process while, conversely, maximising management's control. However, the control mechanisms imposed in the workplace do not go unchallenged. Labour is not inert and passive. Rather, labour possesses a duality which is both 'determined' and 'determining'. Thus control is met with contestation.

Edwards (1979) has explored the ramifications of this control–contestation dialectic. His basic thesis is that as changes in industrial organisational control take place, internal contradictions arise, which promote new forms of worker contestation. Organisations are structured, and innovations in organisational technique come about, through the need for control. However, as tensions between management and labour continually resurface, new controls are implemented thus ensuring a continual transformation of the workplace. This process has led to the development of three distinguishable types of control systems: simple, technical, and bureaucratic. Particular forms of contestation are associated with each system of control.

Simple control was originally found in small firms where the work was directly overseen by the owner or his family. This personal relationship ensured immediate assessment of worker performance. However, with the growth of plant size and employee numbers, a hierarchical control system was implemented. This 'hierarchical control was based on the concept that each boss — whether a foreman, supervisor, or manager — would re-create in his shop the situation of the capitalist under entrepreneurial control' (Edwards 1979, p. 31). But such a method of control lacked the original personal relationship. Consequently, Edwards suggests, much of the industrial unrest in the late nineteenth century was due to the arbitrariness of foremen and supervisors.

The degree of turbulence in the workforce then led large corporations to experiment with other forms of control, especially scientific management. Edwards points out that its importance has been vastly overstated, that it was rarely implemented in practice, producing more worker militancy than it reduced. However, it was not a total failure. As Edwards stresses:

> One important element that did endure was the aggressive attempt to gain management control over the special knowledge of production — what Harry Braverman has brilliantly described as the 'separation of conception from execution' (Edwards 1979, p. 104).

The failure of scientific management led to the introduction and development of **technical control**. With the development of the assembly line, controls were built into the technical structures of production. Superintendence was transferred from an immediate overseer to the means of production itself. The inherent advantage was that control of the pace of the work and the monitoring of output was with the technical structure. But technical control did not resolve the contradictions of the workplace: it merely displaced antagonisms to a different level. As Edwards points out:

> Technical control . . . took relatively homogeneous labor . . . and technologically linked them in production. The combination proved to be exceptionally favorable for building unions . . . 'quickie' sit downs . . . sabotage, wildcat strikes, and other labor actions were much more effective in plants organized according to technical control (Edwards 1979, p. 128).

As a result, the search for a strategy to ensure stability and harmony between capital and labour was then shifted to the actual organisational structure.

Bureaucratic control differs from other forms of control by being embedded in the formal structure of the organisation. Bureaucratic control is characterised by formal rules and procedures demanding the internalisation of organisational norms. Such control aims at rational authority, at routinising all functions of management, with all activities subordinated to rules. As Edwards puts it:

> Bureaucratic control is embedded in the social and organizational structure of the firm and is built into job categories, work rules, promotion procedures, discipline, wage scales, definitions of responsibilities, and the like. Bureaucratic control establishes the impersonal force of 'company rules' or 'company policy' as the basis for control (Edwards 1979, p. 131).

The advantage of bureaucratic control from the management perspective is that it enhances stability and ensures the prevalence of long-term organisational predictions. However, contradictions arise with the development of economic crises. It can only be without contradictions if capitalism is without crisis (Edwards 1979). So the prevailing economic crisis has developed contradictions within organisations leading to demands for increased autonomy and industrial democracy (see also Zimbalist 1979, Carnoy 1981, Zwerdling 1980).

Educational systems incorporate many of the features of bureaucratic control. The roles of the various job levels (e.g. senior teacher, principal, and inspector), the acquiring of promotion 'marks', and wage scales act as important mechanisms of control over teachers. Also the structural division of labour through directors, professional officers, school administrators, the various levels of teachers, to the public service office staff reflect the institutionalised control mechanisms. Such bureaucratic control conveys a sense of 'rationality' in the production of educational services. Thus the educational system is portrayed as a neutral, technical organisation maintaining social harmony and order.

However, educational organisations, like many other public or human service organisations, are not completely 'rational' institutions, for teachers and other members frequently assert their own individuality against the pressures of conformity and submission. Schools thus exhibit a relative autonomy which reflects their ability to resist central, bureaucratic reform. Such resistance is embodied in the concept of schools as loosely coupled organisations (Weick 1976, Pajak 1979). This refers to the relatively low degree of co-ordination and control exerted by central administration over school systems. As Weick puts it:

> [Loose coupling] intends to convey the image that coupled events are responsive, *but* that each event also preserves its own identity and some evidence of its physical or logical separateness. Thus, in the case of an educational organization, it may be the case that the counselor's office is loosely coupled to the principal's office. The image is that the principal and the counselor are somehow attached, but that each retains some identity and separateness and that their attachment may be circumscribed, infrequent, weak in its mutual affects, unimportant and/or slow to respond . . . Loose coupling also carries connotations of impermanence, dissolvability, and tacitness all of which are potentially crucial properties of the 'glue' that holds organizations together (Weick 1976, p. 3).

The prevalence of loose coupling in areas of schooling is related to the separation of the administration and teaching operations which exists in schools. Within the actual confines of the classroom, teachers are responsible for educational processes and are willing to resist any administrative intrusion or restriction of this autonomy. The fierce resistance to such intrusion by the Victorian Secondary Teachers Association through strikes and stop-works has meant that no high school teacher comes unwillingly under the direct scrutiny of Education Department inspectors in his or her classroom. Principals, because of their recruitment from the ranks of teachers, acknowledge the relative autonomy of teachers and the policy of non-intrusion that this implies. Consequently, principals concern themselves with the organisation of the environment and structure rather than the educational processes. As a result, as Bates (1981) has argued, the internal elements of the institutional organisation are loosely coupled, while being tightly coupled to the surrounding environment.

Ideological control and the role of teachers

Control can, however, take on a more subtle, ideological form. This can be attempted through the dissemination of a particular view of the world which promotes selected values. This ideological control may become hegemonic when it becomes dominant within society, when it operates to legitimise the dominant organisation and practices of society. Such hegemony, as Gramsci argued, involves not only the supremacy of the dominant group in society, but also the 'consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is "historically" caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production' (Gramsci 1971, p. 12).

Gramsci's concept of hegemony focuses on the way in which control is exercised through institutions like schools so that it can be maintained by one dominant group over others without recourse to overt violence. Such control is not physically coercive: there are no physical constraints. Any constraints are moral and/or intellectual. Thus in Gramsci's own formulation of the concept, hegemonic direction is by moral and intellectual persuasion. Rule by intellectual and moral hegemony is the form of power which gives stability and founds power upon wide-ranging consent and acquiescence so that 'every relationship of "hegemony" is necessarily an educational relationship' (Gramsci 1971, p. 350).

Moreover, as Apple shows in his discussion of Gramsci, Gramsci considered that there are two requirements for ideological hegemony.

> It is not merely that our economic order 'creates' categories and structures of feeling which saturate our everyday lives. Added to this must be a group of 'intellectuals' who employ and give legitimacy to the categories, who make the ideological forms seem neutral. Thus, an examination of the very categories and procedures that 'intellectuals' like educators employ needs to be one of the prime foci of our investigation (Apple 1979, p. 11).

Teachers then are a major force in socialising students to the dominant perspective of society and are themselves socialised to legitimising the power of the dominant group. Much of the blame for this situation, Giroux (1981b) argues, lies with teacher-education programs which function as agencies of social control. This comes about because they 'directly or indirectly "educate" future generations of teachers to accept uncritically those skills, attitudes, and dispositional qualities that support the dominant social order' (Giroux 1981b, p. 156).

However, the socialisation of teachers to the structure and values of the prevailing educational system is tempered by the image of professionalism and autonomy which may contain elements of contestation and resistance to the dominant managerial perspective. However, this rarely leads to a basic questioning of the fundamental power relationship, class structure, and legitimating ideologies on which the educational system rests. Indeed peripheral contestation may be vital to the continued regeneration of the dominant ideological hegemony, and that continual adaptation is part of the hegemonic process. But this still leads to the domination of a particular viewpoint, so that:

> Hegemony is a ruling class's (or alliance's) domination of subordinate classes and groups through the elaboration and penetration of ideology (ideas and assumptions) into their common sense and everyday practice; it is the systematic (but not necessarily or even usually deliberate) engineering of mass consent to the established order ... The hegemonic sense of the world seeps into popular 'common sense' and gets reproduced there; it may even appear to be generated by that common sense (Gitlin 1980, p. 253–4).

Thus teachers form no functionalist perpetration of social control, but through both compliance and some forms of contestation they often ensure the ascendency of the dominant ideological hegemony.

Grace (1978) in his book, *Teachers, Ideology and Control*, has examined teachers' involvement in social and symbolic control and the way ideological conflict affects the forms of belief and practice within schools. He outlines his concern by arguing:

> There is now a growing recognition within the sociology of education of the need for more studies which attempt to locate teachers in state schools in relation to some notion of an 'objective' social reality concerned with class relations and changing modalities of social control and some notion of a 'subjective' social reality concerned with the constitution of teacher consciousness within the constraints of the work situation (Grace 1978, p. 3).

The dominant ideology which guides teachers is one of liberalism which stresses relevance — a relevance which is concerned with modernisation, efficiency, and producing responsible citizens. While the teachers themselves, through selection and occupational socialisation procedures and the ideology of professionalism and respectability, were traditional 'agents of symbolic control', Grace points out that the recent influx of teachers with working-class backgrounds has 'resulted in a greater social, cultural and ideological differentiation among the teachers' (Grace 1978, p. 216). Many teachers are realising the contradictory nature of their position in the social-class structure: 'that they are *workers* and that their interests and those of their pupils will only be realized in association with other workers' (Grace 1978, p. 216). This trend towards the working-class location has also been evident in Victorian schools with the representation of the VSTA on the Victorian Trades Hall Council and the interest of the

Victorian Teachers Union (VTU) in the International Labour Organization. However, in both cases, while the contradictions in the location of teachers in the class structure may result in some increased contestation with the State, invisible forms of control remain. These are the insidious controls of 'professionalism' and being 'a good teacher' (Salaman 1979) — controls which largely go unchallenged and reinforce the 'natural' and taken-for-granted assumptions on which social and educational reality are based.

A case study of teacher control and contestation

This section will briefly survey the battle for control over the conditions of teaching in Victorian high schools over a period of approximately twelve years. It ends with the ultimate form of contestation: the massive financial and material support by teachers to bring about the electoral defeat of an antagonistic conservative government.

The setting

Prior to the 1970s there were no prescribed limits to the number of hours a teacher might be required to teach or the size of the classes under his or her control. Nor was there any stated allowance for the extra duties (such as those of form teacher, level co-ordinator, timetabler, or sports master) that teachers were expected to perform.

In 1967, the VSTA journal, the *Secondary Teacher* (1967, p. 7), pointed out the differences between workers under industrial awards and teachers. While the cleaners were aware of how much they were paid for a precise square footage of cleaning, teachers could 'be asked to do anything and everything'. During the late 1960s, the average class load was 30 forty-minute teaching periods (the average for the writer during this period was 32!), plus two sport supervision, plus extras, plus other supervision. No allowance was made for extra duties.

The essence of control used to support these requirements was ideological and pervasive. The teacher would work any hours required, as would a doctor or lawyer because he or she was a 'professional'. Consequently,

> the implication in the 30 teaching period directive [was] that most preparation and correction, and the special demands such as setting of papers, drawing up of syllabuses and the rest, should be done in the evenings and at weekends . . . The result is a work force in the schools which the authorities believe should be poorly paid and which must work for anything up to eighteen hours a day when required (*Secondary Teacher* 1967, pp. 7–10).

The secondary teachers' response to what they saw was a steadily increasing work load was to prepare a White Paper on teachers' conditions. This formed the basis of a case presented in 1967 to the Director-General of the Victorian Education Department. It argued that: teachers of Years 11 and 12 should have a maximum of 20 periods per week; teachers of Years 9 and 10 should have a maximum of 26 periods per week; and those with Years 7 and 8 should be on a maximum allotment of 28 periods a week. However, the Victorian Education Department refused to take any action on these proposals. The response from the VSTA was to contest any attempts by school principals to implement allotments higher than those set out in the VSTA White Paper. This contestation, which began in 1971, took the form of a 'protracted guerilla war in the schools' (Burrows 1975, p. 8).

Contestation

In 1971 the VSTA implemented its Professional Action Campaign which sought to lay down the maximum conditions under which its members would work for the next twelve months. These involved class sizes, extras, and teaching loads in relation to the other duties a teacher had to undertake. Any breach of the VSTA conditions resulted in a stop-work by the local branch. At the start of each year a list of VSTA-conditions signatories would be presented to the principal. Any breach of conditions in relation to those signatories would bring about industrial action.

While the number of signatories varied markedly from school to school and region to region, the pressure on the principal and non-VSTA members had a marked effect. The situation often resulted where non-VSTA members ended up with larger classes and heavier loads than VSTA members, causing in some schools an increase in VSTA membership.

The action in the schools involved using the tactic of lightning strikes, frequently and at short notice. The stop-work might last thirty minutes or a whole day. The timing and degree of involvement in such action can be gathered from statistics quoted in Addinsall's (1981) study of the main areas of conflict between the VSTA and the Victorian Education Department over the last twelve years (Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1 Strikes in high schools, 17 June–1 July, 1977, indicating duration, number of teachers on strike, and reason for stoppage (Addinsall 1981, p. 299)

School	Date	Time	Number on strike	Reason
Maryvale	17.6.77	9.40–10.10	14	Extras
Myrtleford	23.6.77	1.35–4.30	14	Workload
Mt Waverley	24.6.77	11.00–12.40	17	Extras
Hadfield	28.6.77	9.00–3.30	26	Workload
Preston GHS	22.6.77	10.10–11.05	34	Class size Workload

Table 2 Summary of the main strikes in high schools in the first half of 1977, showing the number of strikes, the duration of strikes, and the number of teachers on strike (Addinsall 1981, p. 300)

School	Number of strikes	Duration	Number on strike
Hadfield	10	1 day each	25–32
Myrtleford	9	1/2 day each	10–15
Moonee Ponds	8	Total 7 days	8–9
Seaford-Carrum	7	Mostly 1 day	21–32
Highvale	5	1 day each	6
Doveton	5	Mostly 1 hour	24–35
Preston GHS	5	1/2 day each	35–38
Williamstown	3	Total 2-1/2 days	29–45

From these figures, it would seem that while the teacher involvement varied from a small number to virtually the entire staff, the timing of strikes would have meant either the entire closing of the school or the sending home of a number of classes. In each case great disruption to the normal routine of the school was engendered. This resulted in considerable pressure being placed on the principal, school administrators, the non-VSTA staff, parents, and local communities. The aim was to pressure the Victorian Education Department into establishing direct negotiations on conditions.

Control

The original response of the Victorian Education Department was to let the schools solve their own problems. However, by 1973 pressure was exerted on the Director-General from the Director of Secondary Education and the Victorian High Schools Principals Association (VHSPA) to obtain a regulation from the Teachers Tribunal on class sizes, teacher allotments, and hours of work by teachers. The result was that Teachers Tribunal Regulation 24 (see Appendix A) came into force in late 1974. In Regulation 24, class teaching time was set out for each classification of teacher. Extra periods were set at 2⅔ hours per week or twenty hours per term. Time was also allotted for preparation and correction at school and for additional duties. However, the Regulation was drawn up in complete ignorance of the way schools were being administered and the way allotments were arrived at and distributed in schools. For, as Addinsall (1981) has pointed out, Regulation 24 did not embody the prescriptions in conditions that the VSTA saw resulting from direct negotiations. Indeed,

> without submissions from the VSTA and the VHSPA, and with submissions only from Secondary Division and the VTU, the Tribunal had only a slight knowledge base on which to hand down a satisfactory regulation . . . Further, exposure of the perfunctory manner in which the regulation was drawn up, exposure made through the reports of Mr Harris [the teachers' representative] to the VSTA, brought the Regulation and the Tribunal into disrepute. Harris reported that 4 meetings totalling 7 hours and 35 minutes resulted in Regulation 24. No examples of allotments in schools were seen and no attempt was made to examine the negotiations which had taken place between the VSTA and the Department over the preceding months (Addinsall 1981, p. 330).

Regulation 24 was a complete negation of the way both principals and teachers perceived that a fair and feasible conditions policy should be drawn up. The consequence was that both school administrators and teachers ignored it. The result of this effort to control teachers was, in Gouldner's (1954) terms, a 'mock bureaucracy' where the members of an organisation ignore the unreal directives and get on with the job of organising the real world. The 18⅔ to 20⅔ hours allotment for an assistant (28 to 31 forty-minute periods) at all levels of the school was clearly incompatible with the VSTA conditions case. In addition, Regulation 24 made no mention of class size which, in 1974, the VSTA had set at: Years 7 to 10 — 35 pupils, Year 11 — 30 pupils, and Year 12 — 25 pupils (*Secondary Teacher* 1974, p. 12). Thus as Addinsall put it:

> Not only did the VSTA choose to ignore the regulation, but it was largely ignored in the schools by principals where a custom of negotiating locally over conditions with the VSTA branches had grown up since 1971 (Addinsall 1981, p. 331).

The actual staffing conditions in schools were based on the VSTA conditions policy; Regulation 24 was forgotten in the *realpolitik* world of the school. In 1977, however, a new control mechanism was introduced by the formulation of staff ceilings. This had resulted from a political decision incorporated in the 1976/77 State budget. 'Instead of the Divisions employing teachers as they found them, a case had to be made, and Ministerial permission sought, to employ teachers in scarce subject areas if they would bring the total number of teachers employed "above ceiling" ' (Addinsall 1981, p. 335). In this way, a staff 'establishment' was imposed for each secondary school. If there were teachers over the establishment, they were named 'in excess' and moved to another school. The VSTA responded to these new controls with a reaffirmation of their resistance, stating:

> Having introduced artificial staffing ceilings the Victorian Government has been able to create teacher unemployment and to reduce or eliminate needs as the key factor in staffing. The only obstacle standing in the way of further draconian measures is the determination of VSTA signatories to take action where necessary to achieve or preserve VSTA conditions (VSTA Strike Call July 1977, in Addinsall 1981, p. 335).

In 1979, a new Minister of Education, the Honourable A. Hunt, came into office and set about counter-attacking the resistance shown by the VSTA. He seemed determined to restore complete control to the Victorian Education Department and to enforce its regulations. As an example, a memorandum was issued in October 1981, which instructed principals not to negotiate on conditions and to draw up the 1982 allotments on the criteria of:

- Daily attendance and duty time for teachers of a minimum of seven hours.
- Daily minimum student instruction time of 320 minutes exclusive of breaks, staff meetings and student assemblies.
- Face to face teaching allotment averaged for all teachers below the principal class to be not less than 17½ hours per week.
- Up to two hours of extras per teacher in any week with a maximum of 20 hours per term.
- No limits on class sizes.
- Consideration of first year teachers as 0.8 for allotment purposes.

(Cooper 1981, p. 1)

Such a directive was clearly not acceptable to the VSTA. However, a new factor was on the horizon. The Thompson Liberal Government was nearing the end of its term and called an election for April of 1982. The teacher unions saw that a vital method to contest the controls imposed by the incumbent government would involve supporting the parliamentary opposition (the Australian Labor Party), which had cordial relations with the unions. To ensure the defeat of the Government, the teacher unions donated $160 000, or a quarter of its campaign funds, to the Labor Party.

In addition, they paid for the rental of campaign offices and supplied much of the election material from their own printing presses (Green 1982). The election resulted in a massive victory for the Labor Party with, importantly, twelve of the twenty-six successful new parliamentarians coming from the ranks of teachers. Immediately, the Honourable R. Fordham, the new Minister for Education, stated that the new Government would honour its promises to the unions. Consequently, after a meeting between the VSTA and the Minister on 22 April 1982, the October 1981 memorandum was replaced. The new memorandum concluded:

> The Education Department will be undertaking a review of the matters raised both in the original memorandum and this statement. It is expected that this review will lead to *agreed* practices for the 1983 school year (Education Department of Victoria 1982, emphasis added)

This section has indicated that the school is not administered on a rationality whereby orders are given and are carried out unquestioningly. Rather, where teachers become alienated in the labour process or are provoked by attempts to impose direct control, they actively develop and take part in organisations to contest the administration's authority. For the goals of the administration are not necessarily the goals of the teachers, but are rather subject to contestation and negotiation. As Greenfield has written, 'organizations are not written into the natural order of things. They are the consequences of human actions — now, in the past, and in the future' (1980, p. 39).

Implications for a theory of educational administration

The important lessons for those concerned with educational administration are, firstly, that if one is to really understand how organisations operate and the relationships between people within the organisation, a clear idea of class relationships is vital. Secondly, it should be realised that controls are never iron-clad or monolithic; there is always contestation, albeit in varying degrees. To be successful, the administrator must recognise these factors and incorporate this recognition into an administrative process. Thus routine administrative processes with reliance on misinformation, mystification, or unequal power in social relations should be avoided. Instead, the administrator should seek to demystify the hierarchies of power within educational organisations by keeping all persons in the organisation well informed and with adequate power to act and participate in important decisions. In essence, the administrators should ensure progressive planning by democratising the organisational planning process.

Such planning would come about through the implementation of a critical theory of organisations and their administration (Habermas 1975, 1979; Denhardt 1981), which would unmask much of what is accepted as 'rationality'. The structure of educational organisations, while often having disastrous social and human consequences, would not be viewed as 'neutral and inevitable' entities, but

> organizations would be seen as historically constituted, humanly derived institutions, always subject to analysis and reformulation;

> individuals would be seen as active participants in the process of constructing and modifying these institutions (Denhardt 1981, p. 73).

Through such a critical theory, concepts such as 'efficiency' would be problematic. What type of efficiency — economic or social? In whose interests is it? Who gains? Who loses by these new efficiency methods? Such a style of administration, while not only assisting individuals, would also help to democratise organisations. Such an approach to administration, Habermas argues, would be characterised by

> a decreasing degree of repressiveness (which at the level of personality structure should increase average tolerance of ambivalence in the face of role conflicts), a decreasing degree of *rigidity* (which should multiply the chances of an individually stable self-presentation in everyday interactions), and approximation to a type of behavioural control that would allow role distance and the flexible application of norms that while well-internalized, would be accessible to reflection (Habermas 1971, p. 119, emphasis added).

The dialectic process and self-reflection leading to transformation inherent in the critical approach to the administration of organisations underscore the fact that administration consists of humanly constructed processes which reflect the interests, ideologies, and power of organisational members. The prevalent power structure, class hierarchies, and legitimating ideologies, however, are not 'inevitable' outcomes, but are consequences of 'past political actions and historically developed administrative rationalities and structural conditions' (Comstock 1982, p. 159). By such an approach to educational administration, administrators may open up a clearer perspective regarding how and why schools are organised in particular ways and how they might and should be changed. These may include a greater understanding of the dialectic process through which schools are organised, a new clarity of communication between the administration and the administered, a greater degree of choice rather than regulation, and a recognition of the need for increased reflection and purposeful action.

Conclusion

This monograph has examined, firstly, the importance of an understanding of class to an understanding of organisations; secondly, the relationship of teachers to the class structure of society; thirdly, various forms of organisational control and how they relate to, and are contested by, teachers; and fourthly, an example from Victoria that illustrates the issue of control and contestation of teachers' working conditions.

It has been argued that to fully understand the way that organisations function, an understanding of class is important. In this context, following Wright (1976, 1979a, and especially 1979b), it has been pointed out that teachers occupy a contradictory class location between the working class and the ruling class. This location varies and at the moment it is increasingly closely aligned with the working class as is evidenced by the increasingly militant position taken up by teachers.

If teachers have to sell labour power to exist, then forms of control are needed by management to extract as much of that potential labour as is possible. Various forms of control, simple, technical, bureaucratic, and ideological, are employed whereby maximum labour might be achieved. However, as Edwards (1979) has shown, control invariably produces contestation. To illustrate this dialectic, the example of control and ensuing contestation over the implementation of teachers' conditions in Victoria was used.

Lastly, it was suggested that a critical approach to the study of the administration of educational organisations would provide a clearer insight into the way organisations actually operate. Not only would the dialectic process of organisational formation be revealed but also the structures of domination. Through such a process, organisations may become more democratic and their members emancipated.

Appendix A

[Supplement to the *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid*, Education Department of Victoria, Melbourne, 26th March 1975.]

AMENDMENTS TO DEPARTMENTAL AND TEACHERS TRIBUNAL REGULATIONS

Where possible, amended clauses, sub-clauses, or sections are printed in full, with amending words shown in italics. In cases where this would be too cumbersome, however, only notes of the amendments are made.

TEACHERS TRIBUNAL REGULATIONS

TEACHING SERVICE (TEACHERS TRIBUNAL) REGULATIONS

Amendment No. 308 (T.T.8)

(*28th January* 1975)

After Regulation 23 insert the following new Regulation:—

REGULATION 24

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS DIVISION.

Class Teaching Time.

1. Teaching time per week, appropriate to the school's educational program, shall be determined and assigned to teachers by the principal within the following prescribed limits:—

	Minimum	*Maximum*
Assistant Class	18⅔ hours	20⅔ hours
Assistant Class (First Year Ex Training)	16⅔ hours	17⅓ hours
Assistant Class—Post of Responsibility	16⅔ hours	18⅔ hours
Senior Teacher	14⅔ hours	16⅔ hours
Deputy Principal (Enrolment 400-599)	6⅔ hours	8⅔ hours.

Provided that—

(*a*) In a school where the enrolment is less than 400 or in a co-educational school where the principal and deputy principal are of the same sex one senior teacher may be assigned teaching time within the limits of 10 hours (minimum) and 12 hours (maximum).

(*b*) Part-time teachers shall be assigned teaching time proportionate to the time fraction for which they are employed.

(*c*) The principal, with the approval of the Director-General, may reduce the minimum teaching time of individual teachers where the Education Department has supplied staff in excess of the number required for the implementation of the teaching program under the above conditions.

Extra Periods.

2. In order to provide for continuity of instruction during short-term teacher absences for which qualified emergency teacher replacements are not readily available, the principal shall assign to suitably qualified teachers extra teaching and/or supervisory duties in addition to the teaching time assigned under clause 1. The assignment of such duties shall not exceed 2⅔ hours per week or 20 hours per term and shall take precedence, as required by the principal, over time allotted under clauses 3 and 4. Extra periods may be assigned under this clause to permanent teachers or temporary teachers qualified for permanency under the provisions of Regulation 8, who possess a sub-major or equivalent qualification in the required subject area. However, where the needs of a school require it, the principal may assign such extra duties to an otherwise suitably qualified teacher. (Payment for duties assigned under this clause shall be made at the rates set out in sub-clause 11 (*f*) of the Teaching Service—Secondary Schools Division (Classification, Salaries, and Allowances) Regulation.)

Preparation and Correction at School.

3. Subject to the provisions of clause 2, principals shall be required to allot time to teachers at school for preparation and correction. The time allotted for this purpose shall be determined by principals having regard to the nature and extent of the teaching duties but except for the case of first year teachers shall not exceed one-half of the teaching time assigned under clause 1.

Additional Duties (Non-teaching Duties Including Sports Supervision).

4. Subject to the provisions of clause 2, principals, having regard to teaching allotments determined and assigned under clause 1, may require teachers to undertake duties in addition to their teaching assignments and preparation and correction time. The time allowance for such duties shall be as determined by the principal and shall not exceed:—

Assistant Class	4 hours
Assistant Class—Post of Responsibility	7 hours
Senior Teacher	10 hours
Senior Teacher (first in school of less than 400 enrolment)	17 hours
Deputy Principal (Enrolment 400–599)	22 hours

Provided that where teaching allotments assigned under clause 1 are below the minimum prescribed in that clause, additional duties may exceed the maximum prescribed in this clause.

Source: Education Department of Victoria, Amendment No. 308, Regulation 24 of the Teaching Service (Teachers Tribunal) Regulations, 'Conditions of service in the Secondary Schools Division', in a supplement to the *Education Gazette and Teachers' Aid* of 26 March 1975.

This regulation was rescinded on 17 December 1975, and a new Regulation 24 was substituted. This was published as Amendment No. 342 in a supplement to the *Education Gazette* of 11 February 1976. Regulation 24 has subsequently been amended twice, in Amendment No. 453, published in a supplement to the *Education Gazette* of 9 May 1978, and in Amendment No. 512, published in a supplement to the *Education Gazette* of 6 May 1980.

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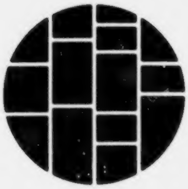
Readings



1

Class and occupation

E. O. Wright

Sociologists have generally regarded "class" and "occupation" as occupying essentially the same theoretical terrain. Indeed, the most common operationalization of class is explicitly in terms of a typology of occupations: professional and technical occupations constitute the upper-middle class, other white collar occupations comprise the middle class proper, and manual occupations make up the working class. Even when classes are not seen as *defined* simply by a typology of occupations, classes are generally viewed as largely *determined* by occupations. Frank Parkin expresses this view when he writes: "The backbone of the class structure, and indeed of the entire reward system of modern Western society, is the occupational order. Other sources of economic and symbolic advantage do coexist alongside the occupational order, but for the vast majority of the population these tend, at best, to be secondary to those deriving from the division of labor."[1] While the expression "backbone" is rather vague, nevertheless the basic proposition is clear: the occupational structure fundamentally determines the class structure. For practical purposes, therefore, the empirical investigation of class can revolve around the investigation of occupational groupings.

Marxist theory adopts a totally different stance towards the relationship between occupation and class. Occupations are understood as positions defined within the *technical* relations of production; classes, on the other hand, are defined by the *social* relations of production. Occupations are thus defined by an array of technical functions or activities: a carpenter transforms lumber into buildings; a doctor transforms sick people into healthy people; a typist transforms blank paper into paper with words on it, etc. Classes, on the other hand, can only be defined in terms of their social relationship to other classes, or in more precise terms, by their location within the social relations of production. Workers sell their labor power to capitalists and have their labor controlled by capital within production; capitalists buy the labor power of workers and control that labor within the labor process. Workers are thus definable only in terms of their social relationship to capitalists, not in terms of the technical content of their laboring activity. A carpenter, for example, could be located in any of a number of different class positions: worker-carpenters are wage-laborers for capital who lack any significant control over their labor process; petty bourgeois carpenters are self-employed artisans who sell carpentry services directly to consumers; manager-carpenters are wage laborers who control the labor of other carpenters within production (e.g., foremen). Within marxist theory, therefore, it is impossible to define classes as clusters of occupations; class and occupation occupy basically different theoretical spaces.

This paper will explore the complex relationship between class and occupation from a marxist perspective. While there will be periodic references to the contrast with nonmarxist conceptions of class, the central objective is not to engage in a battle of definitions with nonmarxists, but to clarify these concepts within marxist theory itself. The heart of the analysis, therefore, will be abstract and conceptual. This may give the paper a rather formal and schematic flavor. The underlying premise is that this kind of conceptual clarification is essential if empirical and historical research is to procede in a clear and coherent way.

Before developing the theoretical argument itself, however, it will be useful to examine the empirical relationship between class and occupation. While data can never directly validate or invalidate a definition, nevertheless an examination of the actual distributions of occupations within classes may add credibility to the theoretical claim that these constitute distinct dimensions of social structure. This will be the task of part one of the paper.

In part two, I will then elaborate more systematically the conceptual relationship between class and occupation. This analysis will revolve around the ways in which classes and occupations intersect organizations. In order to grasp this structure of relations it will be necessary to discuss at least briefly the logic of causation within marxist theory, since in certain fundamental ways this logic departs from that of conventional sociology. Once we have developed this notion of causation, it will then be possible to construct a formal model of determination of the relationships among class, occupation and organization.

An Empirical Investigation of Class and Occupation

In order to study the empirical relationship between class positions and occupational positions, it is first necessary to specify and operationalize the concept of class within marxist theory. This is not such a simple task, since there is such little consensus among marxists over the very meaning of the concept "class," let alone over the definitions of specific classes. For some theorists, "class" above all designates an historical process, and any formal discussion of class structure is seen as theoretically invalid.[2] For other marxists, any discussion of classes as historical actors or subjects is inadmissble, and "class" is used exclusively to designate the structure of relations of exploitation and domination.[3] Many marxists define the working class very broadly to include virtually all wage-laborers regardless of their function within the production process. Others restrict the definition of the working class to productive labor,[4] and still others even more narrowly to manual, nonsupervisory productive labor.[5] Since I have intensively discussed these debates over the conceptualization of class elsewhere,[6] I will not review them here. What I will do is present in a very condensed form one specific conceptualization of class within these debates. This conceptualization, it should be noted, is not (yet) widely accepted among contemporary marxist theorists. The analysis which follows, therefore, should not be read as *the* marxist account of class structure, but as one possible account within the marxist tradition. Following this brief discussion of class, we will examine some provisional data on the empirical relationship between class and occupation in the United States.

Theoretical Criteria for Class Locations

The claim that classes are defined by the social relations of production does not, by itself, provide an adequate basis for defining specific classes within a specific social organization of production. The social relations of production have many different aspects and can be characterized in many different ways. Some more general principle for the decoding of the social relations of production, therefore, is needed if we are to be able specify the criteria for the classes which those relations determine.

Within marxist theory that overarching principle is the concept of "exploitation". At the most abstract level, exploitation is defined as a relationship within which the people in one social location are able to appropriate at least part of the products of labor of people in another social location. To emphasize that such exploitation involves the appropriation of the products of labor, rather than simply the products of nature, exploitation is generally referred to as the appropriation of "surplus labor," or, in the specific case of capitalism, "surplus value".[7] In these terms, the pivotal difference between different class structures centers on the different mechanisms by which such surplus labor is "pumped out" of the direct producers (to use Marx's expression). In feudalism for example, this mechanism is based on forcing the direct producers to work a certain number of days a year on the land of the feudal overlord. In capitalism, the mechanism is based on the capacity of capitalists to force workers to perform more hours of labor on the job than is embodied in the products which they can purchase with their wages.[8] In the broadest terms, then, classes are defined by their location within such relations of exploitation.

Given this understanding of class and exploitation, the task of decoding the social relations of production involves specifying the ways in which those relations constitute the mechanism of exploitation. In the case of capitalist relations of production, such a decoding generates three essential interdependent dimensions of production relations:[9]

(a) Social relations of control over *money capital*, i.e., control over the flow of investments and the capital accumulation process.
(b) Social relations of control over *physical capital*, i.e., control over the use of the physical means of production.
(c) Social relations of control over *labor*, i.e., control over supervision and discipline within the labor process.

The word "control" in each of these dimensions must be understood in terms of social *relations* of control. Control is not, strictly speaking, an attribute of a position per se, but a dimension of the relationship between positions. Thus, the claim that a given position within the social relations of production involves control over money capital is a statement about its relationship to other social positions (those which are excluded from such control), not simply its relationship to a thing (money).[10]

The distinctive capitalist mechanism of exploitation operates through the exclusion of workers from all three of these relations of control and the monopolization of such control by capitalists. The capacity to extract surplus labor from workers within the labor process, in other words, requires (a) that workers do not own money capital, for otherwise they would not need to come to work (they could themselves invest such money as capital); (b) that they do not control physical capital, for if they did they could use that physical capital to produce products for their own use; (c) that they do not control the labor process itself, for if they did they could reduce the pace of work to the point that no surplus labor would be performed. Capitalist exploitation, and the class structure which such relations of exploitation determine, is thus the specific consequence of this combination of these three dimensions of social relations of production.

If the capitalist social system is analyzed at the highest level of abstraction - which marxists refer to as the level of the mode of production - then the class structure is defined by a perfect polarization on all three of these dimensions of the social relations of production. Capitalists and workers thus constitute the only class locations. If we move to a more concrete level of analysis, however, other class locations must enter the story for two basic reasons. First, no concrete capitalist society is characterized only by the pure capitalist mode of production. In particular, simple commodity production - production for the market by self-employed producers who employ no workers - continues to be a reality in all capitalist societies. Such producers define the *petty bourgeois* class location.

Secondly, the simple model of polarized class locations is inadequate for understanding concrete capitalist societies because the three dimensions of social relations of production need not perfectly coincide in actual units of production. Such situations of noncorrespondence between the three dimensions generates a series of additional class locations which we will refer to as *contradictory locations within class relations.* These are illustrated schematically in Figure 1.

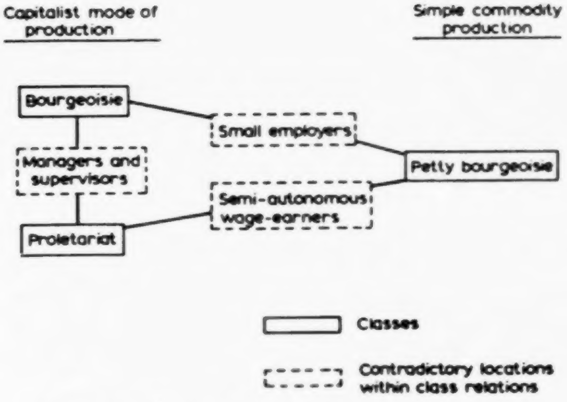

Capitalist mode of production
Simple commodity production
Bourgeoisie
Small employers
Managers and supervisors
Petty bourgeoisie
Semi-autonomous wage-earners
Proletariat
Classes
Contradictory locations within class relations

Figure 1: The basic class relations of capitalist society.

Three such contradictory locations are particularly important in advanced capitalist societies: (1) *managers and supervisors* occupy a contradictory location between the working class and the capitalist class: like capitalists they control the labor of workers and at least some of the physical means of production, but like workers they are excluded from control over the accumulation process as a whole and are dominated within production by capital; (2) *small employers* occupy a contradictory location between the petty bourgeoisie and the capitalist class: like the petty bourgeoisie they are directly engaged in the process of production and own their own means of production, but like capitalists they employ and exploit wage labor, although in sufficiently limited quantities to be unable to accumulate capital; (3) *semi-autonomous* employees occupy a contradictory location between the petty bourgeoisie and the working class: like workers they are employed by capital and dominated by capital within the production process, but like the petty bourgeoisie they retain real control over certain key aspects of the labor process, particularly over aspects of *what* they produce (not merely *how* they produce). Designers or engineers, in these terms, would generally be semi-autonomous employees since they typically have some real control over the design of products, whereas a draughtsman whose job consists of the precise translation of design specifications from one medium to another, would be a worker. (Note that the distinction between semi-autonomous employees and workers is not based on *skill*-level, or on income. A draughtsman or an airline pilot is an extremely skilled position and may be quite well paid, but they both lack any meaningful control over what they produce and thus would generally be located within the working class.[11])

It is important to understand why these positions are called "contradictory locations" within class relations and not simply "ambiguous" locations or "intermediate strata" or "middle classes." They are contradictory in the precise sense that they are located simultaneously in two classes and thus share basic class interests with both of these classes. (Strictly speaking, therefore, the spacial metaphor in Figure 1 is somewhat misleading since it suggests that the various contradictory locations are "between" other classes rather than located in more than one class.) Managers/supervisors have one foot in the bourgeoisie and one in the working class, and this means that their class interests are objectively torn between these two classes. Similarly, semi-autonomous employees share class interests with the petty bourgeoisie and the working class. The contradictory quality of the class location of such positions implies that they will play an especially ambiguous role in class struggle, at times siding with the working class, at times opposing it.[12] Any complete analysis of the class structure of advanced capitalist societies must thus not simply investigate the size of the working class and the bourgeoisie, but the shape and magnitude of these contradictory locations within class relations as well...

A Model of Determination of Class, Occupation and Organization

To briefly recapitulate the argument thus far: classes are defined by the social relations of production, occupations by the technical relations of production. Both of these relations are decisive dimensions of the internal structure of capitalist organizations of production, and both of them determine the empty places within production. In the process by which classes within organizations (a class-in-itself) are transformed into organizations within classes (a class-for-itself), the precise relationship between class and occupation plays an important role, by creating internal strata within classes, by potentially obscuring basic class divisions, and, under certain conditions, by providing resources for class conflict.

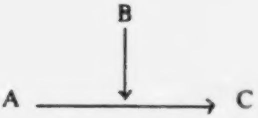
In order to recast this argument as a formal model of determination, it is necessary to introduce the concept of "mode of determination".[30] From its inception, marxist social science has rejected the narrow temporal notion of causation which is dominant in the social sciences, in which causes and effects are all arranged in a simple temporal sequence. While Marx himself never systematically elaborated the logic of causation in his own work, subsequent marxists have spent considerable energy in developing a methodology based on a heterogeneous conception of determination. Sometimes this is referred to as "dialectical causation," other times as "structural causation". I will use the expression "modes of determination" in order to emphasize the plurality of types of causes within marxist theory.

In our present discussion, four different modes of determination are particularly important: structural limitation; selection; mediation; and transformation. A complete typology of determination would include several other modes of determination as well, but for the present purposes, we can restrict the analysis to these four.

Structural limitation. Structural limitation is a mode of determination in which one structure or process establishes *limits of variation* on another structure or process. Given a particular form of the determining structure, the determined structure can only vary within specific limits. It should be noted that there is no necessary temporal ordering in this relation. The limiting structure is not in any sense temporally prior to the limited structure. Thus, while I will argue that the class structure sets limits on the occupational structure (i.e., the social relations of production limit the technical relations of production), this does not imply that the class structure exists prior to the occupational structure.

Selection. Selection can be thought of as the determination of limits within limits. It is the mode of determination in which one structure "selects" specific outcomes or ranges of outcomes within limits established by some other process. In our present analysis, the occupational structure has a selection effect on class formation within limits established by class structure. That is, the basic structure of class relations determines the broadest limits on the forms of organization of classes, but within those limits the occupational structure can have a significant influence on class formation.

Mediation. Mediation constitutes a mode of determintion in which one structure or process shapes the causal relationship between two other processes. This must not be confused with the conventional notion of an "intervening variable" in which a variable functions as an intermediate cause between some antecedent cause and a final effect. An intervening variable can be schematically pictured as follows: A ---> B ---> C where B intervenes between A and C. A relationship of mediation, in contrast, would be represented in the following way:



In this case B determines the effects of A on C. In our analysis of class and occupation, both limitation and selection determinations are themselves mode of determination which we will consider. Transformation constitutes a relation of determination through which the structures which establish different limits on the occupational structure as well as different limits on forms of class organization. Class struggle also mediates the selection effects of the occupational structure on class organization. Such mediation relationships are of decisive importance, for they imply that the conscious forms of struggle by organized classes can alter the ways in which social structures have their effects.

Transformation. Class consciousness also plays a central role in the final mode of determination which we will consider. Transformation constitutes a relation of determination through which the structures which establish limits and selections are themselves modified. This is different from mediation, in which the structure remains unchanged but its effects are influenced. Transformation involves the direct restructuring of social structures themselves. When marxists say that the object of class struggle is ultimately class structure, they are referring to transformation as a mode of determination.

If we take these four modes of determination together, we can use them to construct a model of determination which links class structure, occupational structure, class organization and class struggle. This model of determination is presented in Figure 4. This model, of course, is radically incomplete in a number of crucial respects. Ideology, politics, the state, accumulation - none of these explicitly appear in the relations of determinations depicted in Figure 4. In order to be complete, the specific model in this figure would have to intersect a number of parallel models which contained these elements as well. This model, therefore, must be read as a schematic representation of some of the salient determinations in the process of class formation, not as an exhaustive map of those determinations.[31]

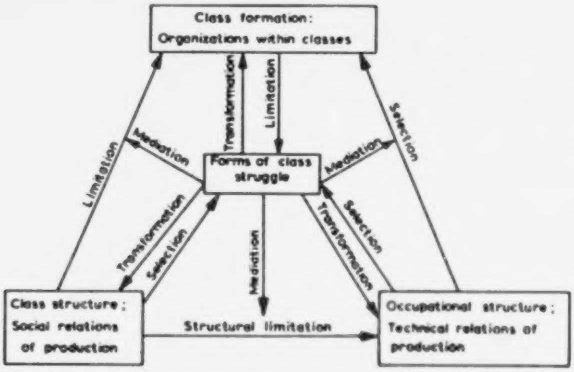

Class formation:
Organizations within classes
Transformation
Limitation
Limitation
Mediation
Selection
Mediation
Forms of class struggle
Transformation
Selection
Mediation
Selection
Transformation
Class structure;
Social relations of production
Structural limitation
Occupational structure;
Technical relations of production

Figure 4: Model of determination of class, occupation and organization.

Several facets of this model are especially important to note: (1) *Class Structure Limits Occupational Structure.* The class structure (social relations of production) sets the basic limits of variation on the occupational structure (technical relations of production). This limiting relationship should be understood in two ways. First, statically, certain forms of the technical division of labor are simply impossible by virtue of a given structure of class relations. For example, the class relations of advanced monopoly capitalism involve the systematic proletarianization of wage-laborers, and in particular the general separation of planning activities (control over allocation of resources) and execution activities. This implies that with rare exceptions, occupational positions (i.e., clusters of technical functions within a single job) will tend not to combine mental and manual labor. The specific contours of the technical division of labor, therefore, are logically constrained by the nature of the social division of labor. Second, historically, as the class structure changes, the possible forms of the technical division of labor also change. As the size and density of the working class expanded with industrial capitalism, for example, the scope for a detailed technical division of labor also expanded.

(2) *Class Structure Limits Class Formation.* The social relations of production also set the basic limits on the formations of organizations within classes. For example, as long as capitalist social relations of production were primarily organized in small shops and cottage industry, the formation of industrial trade unions was basically outside of the limits of structural possibility. Or, to take a different sort of example, where there is a large proportion of all wage laborers in contradictory locations within class relations, it may be much more difficult to organize the working class itself into a class party (either a revolutionary or reformist party), since it will be more difficult for individual workers to see the class structure as a polarized, antagonistic structure of class domination. To the extent that the existence of contradictory locations obscures class interests, they may place real limits on the possibility of working class formation at the political level.[32]

(3) *Occupational Structure Selects Class Formation and Class Struggle.* The occupational structure operates as a selection determinant of both class formation and class struggle. Depending upon the specific relationship between the technical relations of production and the social relations of production, this selection process may either strengthen or undermine working class formation. For example, where the occupational structure generates a privileged strata of workers, it may be much more difficult in general to forge a broad unity within the working class than in situations where occupational divisions are not tied to sharp differences in income, job security, etc. Similarly, the more closely linked are occupational divisions to other sources of social cleavage (race, ethnicity, religion, etc.), the more difficult it will be to create broad, class-wide organizations of the working class. On the other hand, to the extent that the technical division of labor does not demarcate significant divisions within the working class, class formation will be easier, and the forms of class struggle may revolve more consistently around fundamental class issues. Within the limits established by the underlying class structure of the society, therefore, the occupational structure may effect (select) forms of class struggle and class formation.

(4) *Class Formation Limits Class Struggle.* The basic limits on class struggle are not set directly by the class structure but rather by the forms of organization of classes. Without certain forms of organization, certain types of struggle are simply impossible, regardless of the underlying class structure. Collective bargaining over economistic demands as a form of struggle presupposes union organizations; electoral struggles over immediate class interests presuppose the existence of working class parties.[33] This is precisely why many of the bitterest forms of class struggle center on the establishment and legitimation of different organizations of the working class. The struggle for the creation of unions, for example, is typically much sharper and bloodier than the struggle over various objectives once unions are in place. The introduction of new forms of organization of classes transforms the terrain upon which subsequent struggles are fought and thus often meets with the staunchest resistance by ruling classes.

(5) *Class Structure Selects Class Struggle.* Within the limits established by the forms of organizations-within-class, the class structure, like the occupational structure, acts as a selection determinant on forms of class struggle. The extent to which a working class political party, for example, organizes its activity around immediate or fundamental class interests may be shaped by the relative size of the contradictory locations within class relations among wage-laborers. Fundamental class interests would tend to highlight the contradictory character of the potential alliances between workers and people in contradictory class locations near the working class, and thus make electoral gains more difficult. As Adam Przeworski[34] has brilliantly argued, working class electoral parties always face the dilemma of choosing between strategies which maximize their overall vote and strategies, which maximize their working class base. Where contradictory locations are large, this dilemma is intensified. In this way the class structure acts as a selection process on forms of class struggle.[35]

(6) *Class Struggle Mediations.* Class struggle mediates all of the relations of determination between the structural elements of the model. The consequences of a given structure of production relations for the technical relations of production or for class organization, therefore, cannot be considered directly given by the class structure itself. Those consequences – the ways in which the class structure limits the occupational structure and class formation – are themselves shaped by the actual, historical forms of struggle that exist within those structures. For example, if capital attempts to deal with economic crisis through a general assault on the living standards of all wage-earners, this may increase the possibilities of class alliances between the working class and contradictory class loca-

tions. If on the other hand, an attempt is made by the capitalist class to concentrate the effects of crisis on the weakest segments of the working class, it is possible that it could deepen the conflict of interest between certain contradictory locations and workers. The strategies of capital - its practices within the class struggle - thus mediate the effects of class structure on working class formation. But equally, the strategies of the working class within the class struggle mediate those effects. Where workers organize their demands around fundamental class interests, interests which call into question the capitalist mode of production itself, the possibilities of a cohesive class organization of the *dominant* class increases. When workers are either relatively passive or restrict their demands to immediate interests, on the other hand, the various fractions of the capitalist class are much more likely to be hostile to each other and engaged in serious political and economic conflict. The effects of the class structure on the class formation of the bourgeoisie is thus mediated by the forms of struggle of the working class.

(7) *Class Struggle Transformations.* Finally, and in the end perhaps most critically, class struggle acts as a transformation determinant directly on each of the structural elements in the model. When marxists say that class struggle is the "motor" of history, it is largely because of the transformative role that class struggle plays in shaping and reshaping the social structure itself. In every period of capitalist development, the determination of the very form of working class organizations has been a decisive object of class struggle. This has included such things as struggles over union rights, over freedom of political parties, and periodically over new forms of class organization within production itself (workers' councils and the like). Transformations of the occupational structure have also been objects of struggle. From the working class' point of view, such struggles have often centered on preventing changes in the technical division of labor which eliminate skilled jobs; from the capitalist class' point of view, such struggles have centered on using technology and the occupational structure as part of a strategy of social control.[36] In both cases, the structure of occupations has been an object of struggle. Finally, struggles over the class structure itself constitute in some sense the ultimate objective of class conflict. A socialist revolution is above all a revolutionary restructuring of the class structure. But struggles over the class structure are not limited to revolutionary transformation: they also comprise a central aspect of capitalist development itself. The classic example of such struggle is the destruction of the petty bourgeoisie in the course of capitalist development, first through such things as enclosures which destroyed much of the agrarian petty bourgeoisie, and later through capitalist competition which destroyed the artisanal petty bour-

geoisie and is now making considerable inroads on the retail trade petty bourgeoisie as well. Perhaps more importantly in the present context, class struggles have directly influenced the shape and size of the contradictory class locations near the working class. On the one hand, the expansion and differentiation of a managerial structure is at least in part a response to the imperatives of domination within large scale capitalist production (and not simply the imperatives of technical coordination).[37] On the other hand, the need of capital to control the labor process has probably led to a systematic attempt at reducing the degree of control over the labor process and thus to a contraction of the semi-autonomous employee category.[38]

Taking all of these relations of determination together generates the dialectical model of determination symbolically represented in Figure 4. This model is a dialectical model, not simply a structuralist model, since class struggle has the critical capacity of transforming the conditions of its own determination. The structural determinations systematically impose constraints - limits and selections - but those constraints are not statically fixed and they do not define a unique course of social development. Conscious practices of classes - the class struggle in its broadest sense - act on those structures, displacing and transforming those constraints and thus changing the possible forms of class practices in the future.

Toward A Model of Class Formation

The overarching thesis of this essay has been that class structure cannot be considered simply a typology of occupational categories, regardless of how refined that typology attempts to be. Class and occupation are different dimensions of social structure, and any serious attempt at understanding the dynamics of social change must try to theorize the relationship between these dimensions rather than collapsing one onto the other. Once the distinction is rigorously made between class and occupation, between the social relations of production and the technical division of labor, we can then embark on the task of linking the two within a general model of determination of class formation.

The schematization in Figure 4 is only a preliminary step at elaborating such a model. As it stands, this model should be viewed as a kind of road map for empirical/historical research, a guide to the salient questions that must be posed rather than an inventory of the substantive answers to those questions. In particular, as a formal model the account fails to specify the actual contents of the limits, selections, mediations and transformations. Research is needed to establish how broadly or narrowly class structures constrain forms of class formation, and how those limits vary systematically with the shape of the class structure. We need to know under what conditions the occupational structure acts as a selection determinant that reinforces class formation or undermines it, and precisely how the occupational structure selects forms of class struggle from within the limits established by class formation. And, of course, it is only through actual historical investigation that we can grasp the ways in which class struggles concretely transform each of the structural determinants in the model. The model in Figure 4 is thus not a substitute for research, but a way of organizing a research agenda in a theoretically coherent manner.

NOTES

1. Frank Parkin, *Class Inequality and the Political Order* (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 18.
2. For example, E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Random House, 1966).
3. For example, Nicos Poulantzas, *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* (London: New Left Books, 1975).
4. Martin Nicolaus, "Proletariat and Middle Class in Marx," *Studies on the Left*, no. 7, 1967; and John Urry, "Towards a Structural Theory of the Middle Class," *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 16, no. 3, 1973.
5. Poulantzas, *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism.*
6. Erik Olin Wright, *Class Structure and Income Inequality*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1976; "Class Boundaries in Advanced Capitalist Societies," *New Left Review*, no. 98, pp. 3 - 43; *Class, Crisis, and the State* (London: New Left Books, 1978), ch. 2; *Class Structure and Income Determination* (New York: Academic Press, 1979), ch. 1; "Alternative Perspectives on the Marxist Concept of Class," *Politics & Society*, Vol. 9/3, 1979.
7. "Surplus labor" is the general category, applicable to all class societies. It is only in a capitalist society, however, that such labor is embodied in commodities as "exchange values," and that the surplus labor represented in the surplus product takes the form of "surplus value." Much of Marx's discussion of capitalism in Volume I of *Capital* is devoted to explaining precisely how surplus labor takes the form of surplus value in capitalism.
8. The technical defense of this account is at the heart of Marx's labor theory of value. The basic claim that surplus labor is appropriated through the difference between the labor embodied in the wage bundle and the labor embodied in the social product, however, does not hinge on the general adequacy of the labor theory of value as a framework for understanding the rate of profit and other aspects of the accumulation process. All that is necessary to defend the description of this mechanism as a mechanism of exploitation is to demonstrate that the wage bundle in fact embodies a certain quantity of social labor and that this is less than the social labor embodied in the total social product. The very fact of the existence of a surplus product controlled by the capitalist class which was produced by the labor of workers establishes this. For a general discussion of the labor theory of value and its relationship to the analysis of class, see Wright, "Current debates on the Labor Theory of Value," *New Left Review* (forthcoming).

9. Note that these are referred to as *aspects* of production relations, not *types* of relations. There is no meaningful sense in which they can exist independently of each other. They represent three intrinsically interlinked aspects of the social relations of production, forming a unity, albeit an internally differentiated (or structured) unity.
10. Relational concepts of class and inequality should be contrasted to gradational notions. In gradational notions, classes differ in the degree of various attributes such as income, status, education, wealth. The names of classes thus reflect purely quantitative locations: upper class, upper middle class, middle class, lower middle class, lower class, etc. In relational notions, on the other hand, classes are defined by virtue of their location within social relations of domination/subordination. The names of classes, therefore, reflect the qualitative nature of the locations within such relations: lord and serf; slavemaster and slave; capitalist and worker. For extended discussions of the distinction between relational and gradational conceptions of class, see S. Ossowski, *Class Structure in the Social Consciousness* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), and Wright, *Class Structure and Income Determination*, Ch. 1.
11. Commercial airline pilots pose an additional problem for a class analysis. Their incomes may be sufficiently high that they can no longer be seen as "exploited" in the conventional marxist sense of the term. In such cases there is a contradiction between their location within production relations and their location within exchange relations. Such nonexploited wage-laborers should not be considered part of the working class, even if at the level of production relations they have no meaningful control over their labor process. For the purposes of this paper this additional complication will be ignored, and we will examine class locations as they are determined solely at the level of the social relations of production.
12. The complex relationship of intellectuals to working class social movements reflects this contradictory determination of their class location. For a discussion of the relationship of intellectuals to the working class, see Wright, "Race, Class and Income Inequality," *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1978.
30. For a much more extended discussion of modes of determination, see Wright, *Class, Crisis and the State*, ch. 1. For an application of them to the analysis of income inequality, see Wright, *Class Structure and Income Determination*, ch. 3.
31. For illustrations of models which include some of these additional elements, see Wright, *Class, Crisis and the State*, pp. 27, 165, 223.
32. This is an example where the present discussion is seriously incomplete. While it may be true that the class structure places broad limits on the forms of political class formation, the role of political and ideological factors as selections within those limits may be of much more theoretical interest than the limits themselves. For example, while it may be true that the existence of large numbers of people in contradictory class locations may make the political formation of the working class as a revolutionary class more difficult, it is probably the case that the forms of the state and ideology constitute the decisive factors which turn that difficulty into an impossibility. Thus, from the point of view of socialist strategy, it may be more important to attempt to shift the selection processes than expand the structural limits within which those selections take place.
33. It should be noted that this formulation is slightly different from my earlier discussions of class formation and class struggle, in which I argued that class structure directly limited class struggle while class formation simply acted as a selection mechanism.
34. Adam Przeworski, "A History of Western European Socialism," Unpublished manuscript, Political Science Dept., University of Chicago, 1978.
35. Gösta Esping-Andersen, in *Social Democracy and Working-Class Politics in the Modern Welfare State: Denmark and Sweden*, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Ph.D. thesis, Department of Sociology, 1978, an extremely interesting comparison of the Danish and Swedish Social Democratic Parties, has argued that the critical differences in the strategies of the two parties can be explained by the different class structures which they faced. The Danish party, he argues, faced a much larger traditional petty bourgeoisie and was therefore forced to make a number of important compromises in its policies in order to obtain petty bourgeois votes. The Swedish Party, on the other hand,

could rely more exclusively on a strictly working class electoral base and thus could pursue a more consistently working class (although reformist) politics. The result of these differences, according to Esping-Anderson, was that the Danish Party was forced to adopt policies which ultimately eroded part of its working class support, whereas the Swedish Party was able to sustain its working class base in a much more stable manner. This is a good example of how class structure acts as a selection determination of class struggles within limits set by the forms of class organization (reformist working class party politics).

36. See Michael Burawoy, "Towards a Marxist Theory of the Labor Process," *Politics & Society*, 8: 3 - 4, 1978; Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974); Katherine Stone, "The Origins of Job Structures in the Steel Industry," *Review of Radcal Political Economics*, Summer, 1974; and Steven Marglin, "What Do Bosses Do?" *Review of Radical Political Economics*, Summer, 1974.
37. For a discussion of the elaboration of managerial structures as part of a response to class struggle, see Dan Clawson, *Class Struggle and the Rise of Bureaucracy*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Sociology Dept., SUNY, Stonybrook, 1978; Richards Edwards, *Contested Terrain* (New York: Basic Books, 1979); and Wright, *Class, Crisis and the State*, pp. 67 - 71.
38. To my knowledge no really good systematic data exists on changes in the degree of control of workers over the labor process over time. As should be clear from the discussion of occupation and class earlier, it is impossible to use occupational statistics to answer this question. However, some indirect measures, as discussed in Wright and J. Singlemann, "Proletarianization in Advanced Capitalist Societies," *Institute for Research on Poverty Discussion Paper*, University of Wisconsin, 1978, do indicate that within specific sectors of the economy, there seems to be a tendency for autonomy to be reduced over time.

Source: Wright, O. E., 'Class and occupation', *Theory and Society*, no. 9, 1980, pp. 177–83, 194–201, 210–11, 213–14

2

Hegemony, resistance and the paradox of educational reform

H. Giroux

In the current debate over the political, social, and economic functions of schooling, the discourse of radical educational theory appears to be caught in a paradox whereby its attacks on the existing relations between schools and other more powerful institutions in the dominant society tend to end up strengthening those relations. Sharply critical of schools as social sites that function in response to the logic of capital, radical theories of reproduction provide both institutional and interactional analyses of the process of schooling. Through these forms of analyses, such studies have revealed the economic and political character of education — that is, by examining schools against the landscape of capitalist social relations and economic life, such theories have illuminated the deep structure and grammar of class domination and inequality that bear so heavily on the purpose and processes of day-to-day classroom experiences.

In stressing the primacy of either the state or political economy in educational theory and practice, radical theories of reproduction have played a significant role in exposing the ideological assumptions and processes behind the rhetoric of neutrality and social mobility characteristic of both conservative and liberal views of schooling. Yet while such theories represent an important break from idealist and functionalist paradigms in educational theory, they still remain situated within a problematic that ultimately supports rather than challenges the logic of the existing order. The point here is that there are some serious deficiencies in existing theories of reproduction, the most important of which is the refusal to posit a form of critique that demonstrates the theoretical and practical importance of counter-hegemonic struggles both within and outside of the sphere of schooling.

By failing either to acknowledge the degree to which the oppressed are *not* constituted by capital or to recognize those aspects of daily life to which capitalist ideology is indifferent, reproductive theories have been trapped within a reductive logic that appears at odds with the aim of developing a radical theory of education. In other words, neither the promise of oppositional teaching nor the more encompassing task of radical social change represents an important moment in these perspectives — with implications for a model of radical pedagogy that seem obvious. For between the fact of class and gender domination and the promise of counter-ideologies embedded in the contradictions and tensions of classroom experiences, reproductive theories posit models of domination that appear so stark that even references to resistance or social change sound like a weak utterance inscribed in madness. In the end, abstract negation gives way to unrelieved despair, and the rhetoric of radical reproductive approaches points to a mode of theorizing that belongs to the rationality of the existing administered system of corporate domination.

The shortcomings of such approaches to radical pedagogy are not new. Earlier criticisms of theories of reproduction have pointed to their one-sided determinism, somewhat simplistic view of social and cultural reproduction, and their often ahistorical mode of theorizing (Whitty and Young, 1977; Giroux, 1980). What is disconcerting is that radical educational critics, especially in the United States,[1] have failed to abstract and develop those partially articulated elements from within existing theories of reproduction, elements that offer a concrete possibility for developing a theory of radical pedagogy: in this case, a theory of pedagogy that accounts for the relationship between structure and intentionality on the one hand, and points to the need for a connection between critical theory and social action on the other. It is imperative that such a pedagogy be informed by a political project that not only speaks to the interest of individual freedom and social reconstruction, but also has immediate relevance for educators as a mode of viable praxis. This paper attempts to develop the groundwork for such a project.

Theories of Reproduction

There are three major positions emerging from the broad range of reproductive approaches that presently rely upon macro-sociological models to analyze the relationship between schooling and the capitalist societies of the advanced industrial countries of the West. These are theories of social reproduction, particularly the work of Althusser (1971) and Bowles and Gintis (1976);[2] theories of cultural reproduction with a primary focus on the work of Bourdieu and his cohorts (1977a, 1977b) and Basil Bernstein (1977); and theories of resistance; an approach linked to the work of Willis (1977, 1978) and to the more recent scholarship in cultural studies that has been developing in the United Kingdom.[3]

Theories of Social Reproduction — The starting point for theories of social reproduction emphasizes the relationship between the process of schooling and economic life in capitalist society. Though Althusser and Bowles and Gintis view the latter in different ways, they do share the assumption that the economy/school nexus represents the most important element in the reproduction of class relationships in industrialized capitalist societies. In analyzing these positions, I will first examine the work of Althusser followed by that of Bowles and Gintis, and then consider the implications of these two perspectives for a radical theory of pedagogy.

LOUIS ALTHUSSER — Broadly speaking, Althusser attempts to tackle the difficult question of how a labor force can be constituted to fulfill the important material and ideological functions necessary for reproducing the capitalist mode of production. For Althusser (1971), this involves not only training workers with the skills and competencies necessary for working *within* the process of production but also ensuring that workers embody those attitudes, values, and norms that provide the required discipline and respect essential for the maintenance of the existing relations of production. Like Gramsci (1971), Althusser believes that the maintenance of the existing system of production and power depends upon the use of both force and ideology. Thus, for Althusser the reproduction of the "conditions of the conditions of production" (p. 127) rests upon three important interrelated moments in the process of production, capital accumulation, and reproduction of social formations characteristic of industrialized societies. These are: the production of values that support the relations of production; the use of force and ideology to support the dominant classes in all important spheres of control; and the production of knowledge and skills relevant to specific forms of work.

Jettisoning more vulgar interpretations of the base-superstructure issue in Marxist theory, Althusser argues that the role of the economic base to the institutions of civil society cannot be reduced to a simple cause and effect determination. Instead, he claims that the legitimizing principles of capitalist industrialized societies are rooted in the self-regulating practices of the state — namely, the *Repressive State Apparatus,* which rules by force and is represented by the army, police, courts, and prisons; and the *Ideological State Apparatus,* which primarily rules through consent and consists of schools, the family, the legal structure, the mass media and other agencies. Though Althusser insists that in the final analysis the economic realm is the most important mode of determination, he manages to escape from an orthodox reading of this issue. He does this by claiming that within particular historically-located societies there is a displacement of the logic of determination and domination from its primary contradiction in the economic sphere to other levels of determination within the social totality. For instance, Althusser argues that at the present moment the primary determination in reproducing capitalist societies rests with institutions in the Ideological State Apparatus, particularly the school. And it is here that his notion of schooling becomes important.

Althusser argues that schools within advanced capitalist societies have become the dominant institution in the ideological subjugation of the work force. For it is the schools that teach both the skills and the knowhow that constitute the subjectivity of future generations of workers. As Althusser states: "One ideological state apparatus certainly has the dominant role, although hardly anyone lends an ear to its music; it is so silent! This is the School" (p. 155).

The notion of ideology is central to Althusser's analysis of social reproduction. For it is through the force of ideology that schooling functions as an agent of reproduction. Defined in part as the "the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (p. 162), ideology functions within schools both to constitute subjectivity and to socialize students into the dominant society. Thus, ideology is viewed as not only a manipulative set of imposed ideas which embody class specific roles; it is also viewed as being constitutive of subjects themselves (p. 171). Thus, hegemony in Althusser's account points to a link between the mode of production and ideology. In this account, human beings become role bearers, and as Richard Johnson (1979) points out: "The whole sphere of the cultural/ideological, the very processes by which subjectivities are formed, are subsumed within a single function: the reproduction of the conditions of capitalist relations" (pp. 69-70).

There is a curious paradox underlying Althusser's account. On the one hand, he raises the central question at the heart of any attempt to unravel the processes of domination and social reproduction: the question of how a particular form of subjectivity is constituted in schools and other ideological sites. On the other hand, he ignores any sustained analysis of day-to-day classroom practices and, in so doing, fails to answer the question. Similarly, he provides a conceptual notion of ideology that presupposes that if such a question were answered, it would do little to contribute to a liberating mode of radical pedagogy. For what we end up with in Althusser's analysis is a notion of ideology that exists without the benefit of human agents. Domination appears so complete in this perspective that the "constituted subject" appears to be helplessly reduced to the prison house of the ideological state apparatus, and as a result, the conditions or even possibility of transcendence get lost in a grimly mechanistic notion of social reproduction. This is an important issue for it suggests that Althusser sacrifices the possibility of human struggle and resistance within a hegemony that is as pessimistic as it is conceptually limited.[4] Rachel Sharp (1980) captures the contradictions and limitations in Althusser's position in her comment:

> It suggests a determinist reproduction of the relations of production by the educational system which tends to contradict Althusser's own thesis of the relative autonomy of the ideological and political levels and leads to a form of reductionism. It also provides no hope that subjects can ever escape from ideology. (p. 163)

BOWLES AND GINTIS — Bowles and Gintis (1976) share Althusser's basic notion of the role of schooling in capitalist society. As Madeleine MacDonald (1980) writes: "Both see the reproduction of the social relations found in the production process as the central function and determining force in the shaping of schools within capitalism" (p. 18) — that is, like Althusser, Bowles and Gintis believe that schools serve two functions in capitalist society. One essential function is the reproduction of the labor power necessary for capital accumulation; this is provided for in schools through differential student training (along class and gender lines) in the "technical and cognitive skills required for adequate job performance" (p. 129) in the hierarchical social division of labor. The other essential function requires the reproduction of those forms of consciousness, dispositions, and values necessary for the maintenance of "institutions and social relationships which facilitate the translation of labor into profit" (p. 129).

Unlike Althusser, Bowles and Gintis do not focus upon ideology as the central dynamic in the process of social reproduction. Instead, they emphasize the structural relationship between schools and "dominance and subordinancy in the economic sphere" (p. 125). At the heart of their account is what has been called the correspondence theory. Broadly speaking, the correspondence theory posits that the hierarchically structured patterns of values, norms, and skills that characterize the work force and the dynamics of class interaction under capitalism are mirrored in the social dynamics of the daily classroom encounter. Schooling in this view functions through its classroom relations to inculcate students with the attitudes and dispositions necessary for them to accept the social and economic imperatives of a capitalist economy. Bowles and Gintis clearly articulate the nature of their structural analysis when they write:

> The educational system helps integrate youth into the economic system, we believe, through a structural correspondence between its social relations and those of production. The structure of social relations in education not only inures the student to the discipline of the workplace, but develops the types of personal demeanor, modes of self-preservation, self-image, and social identifications which are crucial ingredients of job adequacy. Specifically, the social relationships of education — the relationships between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and their work — replicate the hierarchical division of labor. (p. 13)

While Bowles and Gintis are helpful in pointing to the social relations of the classroom as processes that link schools to determinate forces in the workplace, they eventually end up with a theory of social reproduction that is much too simplified and overdetermined. Not only does their argument point to a spurious "constant fit" between schools and the workplace; it does so by ignoring important issues about the role of consciousness, ideology, and resistance in the schooling process. In other words, hegemonic control in this view is dominated by a model of analysis that "forgets" that such social structures as schools and the workplace represent "both the medium and the outcome of reproduction practices" (Giddens, 1979, p.5). The notion that human action and structure presuppose one another is ignored by Bowles and Gintis in favor of a model of correspondence in which the subject gets flattened under the weight of structural constraints that appear to form both the personality and the workplace exhaustively (Best and Connolly, 1979).

Lacking a thought-out theory of consciousness or ideology, Bowles and Gintis grossly ignore what is taught in schools as well as how classroom knowledge is either mediated through the culture of schools or given meaning by the teachers and students. They provide no conceptual tools to unravel how knowledge is *both* consumed and produced in the school setting. What we are left with is a theoretical posture reinforcing the notion that there is little educators can do to change their circumstances or plight. In short, not only do contradictions and tensions disappear in this account but the promise of critical pedagogy and social change disappear too.

SUMMARY — In summary, both Althusser (1971) and Bowles and Gintis (1976) fail either to define hegemony in terms that posit a dialectical relationship among power, ideology and resistance or to provide a framework for developing a viable mode of radical pedagogy. Both views relegate human agency to a passive model of socialization and overemphasize domination at the expense of those contradictions and forms of resistance that also characterize social sites such as schools and the workplace. Moreover, both views stress the notion of social reproduction at the expense of cultural reproduction; and in spite of Althusser's insistence upon the role of ideology as a mechanism of domination, the concept ends up as a "cheap" prop that mystifies rather than explains how people resist, escape, or seek to change the "crushing" weight of the existing social order.

It is also important to note that in these accounts not only are the specificities of the mechanisms of power and domination either underdeveloped or ignored but also these accounts fail to explain that domination is never total or that power itself is something other than a negative force reducible to the economic sphere or state apparatus. Lost from this perspective is any serious consideration of schools as social sites that produce and reproduce ideologies and cultural forms that stand in opposition to dominant values and practices. By ignoring the notion that dominant ideologies and social processes have to be mediated (rather than simply reproduced) by cultural factors within the school, social reproduction theorists exempt themselves from one of the central questions in any theory of reproduction — i.e., explaining the nature and existence of contradictions and patterns of opposition in schools. The existence of such patterns suggests that dominant educational values and practices have to be viewed in such a way that their determinate effects can neither be guaranteed nor taken for granted (Moore, 1978/79, p. 49).

A more viable approach to understanding the role that schools play in the process of social reproduction of class and gender relationships would have to focus on the role that the culture of the school plays as a *mediating* force within the complex interplay of reproduction and resistance. It is at this juncture that we can turn to theories of cultural reproduction.

Theories of Cultural Reproduction — Theories of cultural reproduction are also concerned with the question of how capitalist societies are able to repeat and reproduce themselves. But the focus of their concern regarding issues of social control centers on such questions as how school culture is produced and legitimated. In other words, the mediating role of culture in reproducing class societies is given priority over the study of related issues such as the sources and consequences of economic inequality. The work of Pierre Bourdieu and his cohorts (1977a, 1977b) in France and of Basil Bernstein (1977) in England represent two instrumental perspectives for studying the cultural reproduction position.

PIERRE BOURDIEU — Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron have made a sustained effort to develop a sociology of curriculum that links culture, class, and domination on the one hand, and schooling, knowledge, and biography on the other. Bourdieu and Passeron reject reproductive accounts that view schools simply as a mirror of society and argue that schools are relatively autonomous institutions that are only indirectly influenced by more powerful economic and political institutions. Rather than being directly linked to the power of an economic elite, schools are seen as part of a larger universe of symbolic institutions that reproduce existing power relations through such subtle means as the production and distribution of a dominant culture that tacitly confirms what it means to be educated.

Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction begins with the assumption that class-divided societies and the ideological and material configurations on which they rest are mediated and reproduced, in part, through what he calls "symbolic violence" (1979) — that is, class control is not simply the crude reflex of economic power imposing itself in the form of overt force and restraint; instead it is constituted through the more subtle exercise of symbolic power waged by a ruling class in order "to impose a definition of the social world that is consistent with its interests" (1979, p. 80). Culture in this perspective becomes the mediating link between ruling class interests and everyday life. It seeks to present the economic and political interests of the dominant classes not as arbitrary and historically contingent but as necessary and natural elements of the social order.

Education is seen as an important social and political force in the process of class reproduction. For by appearing to be an impartial and neutral "transmitter" of the benefits of a valued culture, schools are able to promote inequality in the name of fairness and objectivity. This is an important point in Bourdieu's (1977a, 1979) analysis because through this argument he rejects both the idealist position (which views schools as independent of external forces) and orthodox radical critiques (in which schools merely mirror the needs of the economic system). In contrast to these positions, Bourdieu (1977a) argues more specifically that it is precisely the relative autonomy of the educational system that "enables it to serve external demands under the guise of independence and neutrality, i.e., to conceal the social functions it performs so as to perform them more effectively" (1977a, p. 178). Moreover, it is in analyzing how the school actually performs the functions of cultural reproduction that we begin to benefit most from this analysis.

The concepts of cultural capital and habitus are central to understanding Bourdieu's (1977a, 1977b) analysis of how the mechanisms of cultural reproduction concretely function within schools. The first concept — cultural capital — refers to those different sets of linguistic and cultural competencies that individuals inherit by way of the class-located boundaries of their family. In more specific terms, a child inherits from his or her family those sets of meanings, qualities of style, modes of thinking, and types of dispositions that are accorded a certain social value and status as a result of what the dominant class(es) label as the most valued cultural capital. Schools play a particularly important role in both legitimating and reproducing the dominant culture; for schools, especially at the level of higher education, embody class interests and ideologies that capitalize upon a kind of familiarity and set of skills that only specific students have received through their family backgrounds and class relations.[5] Consequently, those students whose families have only a tenuous connection to forms of cultural capital that are highly valued by the dominant society are at a decided disadvantage. Bourdieu (1977c) sums up the process well when he argues that the educational system:

> offers information and training which can be received and acquired only by subjects endowed with the system of predispositions that is the condition for the success of the transmission and of the inculcation of the culture. By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what they do not give. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture (p. 494).

But Bourdieu (1977b) attempts to do more than link power and culture. He also demonstrates how the social practices of a dominant social structure are reproduced outside the boundaries of a vulgar determinism or abstract voluntarism. To do this, he points to the concept of habitus. According to Bourdieu (1977b), the habitus refers to those subjective dispositions which reflect a class-based social grammar of taste, knowledge, and behavior inscribed permanently in the "body schema and the schemes of thought" (p. 15) of each developing person. The habitus, or internalized competencies and sets of structured needs, represents the mediating link between structures, social practice, and reproduction. The system of "symbolic violence" does not mechanically impose itself on the oppressed; it is, in part, reproduced by them since the habitus governs practices that assign limits to its "operations of invention" (pp. 94-95). In other words, objective structures (language, schools, economics) tend to produce dispositions, which, in turn, structure social experiences that reproduce the same objective structures.

The value of Bourdieu's analysis is that it exposes the political nature of the false distinction between power and knowledge and, in doing so, clearly illustrates that any theory of knowledge "is a dimension of political theory because the specifically symbolic power to impose the principles of the construction of reality — in particular social reality — is a major dimension of political power" (1977b, pp. 165-166). Moreover, unlike Althusser, Bourdieu (1977b) addresses the question of how a certain form of subjectivity is imposed on people. But Bourdieu (1977a, 1977b) seems to have been carried away by this issue, and in the final analysis, the concept of habitus appears somewhat one-dimensional and over-determined. While habitus is helpful in pointing to a mode of domination in which the oppressed contribute to their own subjugation through the processes of socialization and self-formation, the concept of habitus ultimately emerges *only* as a form of hegemony for those under the sway of ruling class interests. In the final analysis, habitus smothers the possibility for social change and is reduced to a mode of management ideology. For example, Bourdieu (1977b) ignores the notion that reflexive thought may result in social practices that qualitatively restructure a person's disposition or structure of needs — i.e., habitus (Heller, 1976). Consequently, Bourdieu (1977b) ends up with a notion of hegemony irreversibly rooted in the personality structure and so appears to shortcircuit the hope for individual and social transformation. In spite of the value of much of Bourdieu's (1977a, 1977b) work, ultimately it reduces its author to a prophet of gloom. This may not be too surprising since there is little room in his work for either historical analyses or a theory of consciousness, both of which are necessary elements in developing a theory of human agency and social reconstruction.

BASIL BERNSTEIN — At the core of Bernstein's (1977) analysis of education and the role it plays in the cultural reproduction of class relationships is a theory of cultural transmission. Bernstein (1977) points to the problematic at the center of this theory in his comment:

> How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits, and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control. From this point of view, differences within, and change in, the organization, transmission and evaluation of educational knowledge should be a major area of sociological interest. (p. 85)

Arguing that education is a major force in the structuring of experience, Bernstein attempts to illuminate how curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation represent message systems whose underlying structural principles are based on modes of social control rooted in the wider society. In investigating the question of how the structure of education shapes both identity and experience, Bernstein develops a theoretical framework in which he claims that schools embody an educational code. Such a code is important because its function is to organize how authority and power are to be mediated throughout all aspects of the school encounter and experience.

The dominant educational code in Bernstein's typology consists of either a collection code or an integrated code, the meanings of which are directly connected to the concepts of classification and framing. In brief, classification refers "not to what is classified but to the relationship between contents" (p. 88). In other words, classification refers to the strength or weakness in the construction and maintenance of the boundaries that exist between different categories, contents, etc. Boundary strength in Bernstein's perspective is a critical feature that underlies the division of labor at the heart of the educational experience and wider society. On the other hand,framing refers to the pedagogical relationship itself and to how power and control are invested and mediated between teachers and students; or as Bernstein puts it, framing refers "to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship" (p. 89). Either or both concepts can be strong or weak in different combinations, and thus they constitute the dominant educational code.

The collection code refers to strong classification and framing and could, for example, take the form of a traditional curriculum characterized by rigid subject boundaries and strong hierarchical teacher/student relationships. By contrast, an integrated code, characterized by weak classification and weak framing, represents a curriculum in which subjects and categories are more integrated and teacher/student authority relationships more negotiable and open to modification. What is important to understand is that both codes are tied to modes of social reproduction, although Bernstein believes that the integrated code contains more possibilities for a progressive pedagogy.

By using this typology, Bernstein has attempted to conceptualize the structural features that link schools and the mode of production to reproduce class relationships. Power and control in this perspective are embedded in the structuring devices that shape the experiences and consciousness of human beings as they pass through such social sites as the family, the school, and the workplace. While Bernstein rejects any form of mechanical correspondence among these different social sites, he nevertheless tends to assume that, regardless of the *form* of social control they perpetuate, all of these social spheres share in the reproduction of class control and the maldistribution of power that underlies the existing mode of production. Thus, in the end, Bernstein argues that educational reforms that call for a change in the *form* of social control pose little threat to the class basis of power and will do just as little to effect social change.

Bernstein's work is particularly useful in identifying how the principles of social control are coded in the structuring devices that shape the messages embedded in schools and other social institutions. But in the final analysis, his work does not go far enough as a theory of radical pedagogy. While he points to the importance of a semiotic reading of the structural features that shape knowledge, classroom social relationships, and organizational structures in the day-to-day functioning of schools, he does so at the expense of analyzing the lived experiences of the actors themselves — that is, he ignores how different classes of students, teachers, and other educational workers give meaning to the codes that influence their daily experiences. By ignoring the production of meaning and the content of school cultures, Bernstein provides a weak and one-sided notion of consciousness and human action. Needless to say, by ignoring the production of meaning — be it in the self-constituted acts of discourse, social practices, or in the school materials themselves — he escapes the tricky question of how the state and other powerful capitalist institutions influence school policy and curriculum-making through the production of *specific* ideologies and cultural materials.[6]

SUMMARY — In short, both Bourdieu (1977a, 1977b) and Bernstein (1977) surrender to a version of hegemony in which the cycle of reproduction appears unbreakable. Not only do social actors as possible agents of change disappear in these accounts but instances of conflict and contradiction disappear too. In spite of the insistence of both theorists on the relative autonomy of the educational system and their rejection of imposition theories, they both end up ignoring the notions of resistance and counter-hegemonic struggle. Consequently, they are reduced to empty chatter when we look to their work for a theory of radical pedagogy.[7] Macdonald (1977) sums this position up cogently:

> In both theories there is a sense in which socialization is nearly total, the gap between socially determined action and individual freedom of action is small if not insignificant. . . . The view which comes across is that power is exerted down from the macro level

> of societal structures and class domination to the individual through school experience, and the possibilities of social change through the creation of a radical consciousness are denied. The individual is seen more as a social product of the structure than an active creator of "reality." (p. 44)

Theories of Social and Cultural Reproduction — Though there are notable differences between theories of social and cultural reproduction, they do share a number of commonalities that tie them to the logic of the corporate state. Both positions view class domination as the central element underlying the mechanisms of social and cultural reproduction. Yet rather than viewing class domination as *only one* mode of oppression, they have fallen into the reductive position of seeing it as the only mode. Consequently, there is little or no treatment of patriarchy as a related but distinct and powerful moment in the process of social domination. Moreover, as previously mentioned, the notion of domination at the heart of these two sets of theories is one-sided and undialectical. Power is seen as purely negative. Whether it be located in the state, the mode of production, the cultural sphere, or in the structural principles that shape knowledge, power emerges in these accounts merely as a form of imposition. Power as a form of production, invention, and resistance is not considered. As Foucault (1979) points out: "Power is never monolithic, it is never completely controlled from one point of view. At every moment power is in play in small individual parts" (p. 60). The insight that power both forms and works through the individual, that power can be desirable and not just constraining, has not been acknowledged adequately in either theory of reproduction. The result has been that both positions have given secondary importance to the concepts of resistance, conflict, and struggle. Where conflict or resistance is recognized, its potential for radical pedagogy is ignored. As a result, when the focus moves from domination to resistance it gets subsumed in a form of "conflict functionalism" (Bredo and Feinberg, 1979, p. 324) that subordinates all elements of struggle to the crushing weight of existing power relations. Put another way, concepts such as conflict and resistance are useful in these analyses only as theoretical tools to *highlight* structures of domination, but they play little or no role in the development of a viable pedagogical strategy to overcome domination.

In the final analysis, none of these positions develops an adequate theory of ideology, hegemony, or resistance. For example, ideology is either ignored altogether in the account provided by Bowles and Gintis, given a one-sided treatment in Bourdieu's notion of habitus and Bernstein's focus on structuring principles, or reduced to a monolithic vehicle of domination that constitutes subjectivity as in Althusser's account. Thus, in all of them, ideology is hardly distinguished from hegemony, which, in turn, is viewed in reductive and incomplete terms. What finally emerges as a commonality is a one-sided emphasis on the systemic and deterministic aspects of social and cultural reproduction in capitalist societies. Not only are the voluntaristic aspects of struggle missing here but also any hope of social change.

Theories of Resistance — If theories of social and cultural reproduction exclude from their problematics the issue of conflict and consciousness, theories of resistance make this issue the starting point for a critical study of the relationship between schooling and capitalist society. In doing so, they have focussed primarily on detailed studies of both the conflicts and tensions that mediate school culture and the role of youth subcultures within and outside schools.

Combining ethnographic studies grounded in a neo-Marxist perspective with more recent European cultural studies, Willis (1977, 1978), Hall and Jefferson (1976), and others[8] have attempted to demonstrate that the mechanisms of social and cultural reproduction are never complete and are always faced with partially realized elements of opposition. Furthermore, these approaches have developed a dialectical model of reproduction in which the domination of the working class is not only viewed as the result of capital and its institution, but also linked to the dynamics of self-formation within the working class itself — that is, a mode of analysis emerges in which the self-formation of the working class is grounded not only in acts of resistance but also in a limited political awareness of the nature and possibilities of such resistance.

What is significant about these approaches is that, in pointing to the gaps and tensions that exist in social sites such as schools, they successfully undermine versions of the correspondence theory that support a "constant fit" between the school and the workplace. Moreover, they further undermine oversocialized and overdetermined models of imposition theory, so fashionable among leftist pedagogues. On another level, they also provide a notion of culture in which the production and consumption of meaning are connected to specific social spheres and traced to their determinate sources in historically and class-located parent cultures. Simply put, culture is not reduced to an overly determined, static analysis of dominant cultural capital — i.e., language, cultural taste, and manners. Instead, culture is viewed as a system of practices, a way of life, that constitutes and is constituted by a dialectical interplay between the class specific circumstances of a particular social group and those powerful ideological and structural determinants in the wider society. Hall and Jefferson (1976) express this clearly:

> Culture is the distinctive shapes in which the material and social organization of life expresses itself. A culture includes the "maps of meaning" which makes things intelligible to its members. These "maps of meaning" are not simply carried around in the head: they are objectivated in the patterns of social organizations and relationships through which the individual becomes a social individual. Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped, but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted. (pp. 10-11)

Theories of resistance take as their major objective a study of the way in which class and culture combine to offer the outlines for a cultural politics. Central to such a politics is a semiotic reading of the style, rituals, language, and systems of meaning that constitute the cultural field of the oppressed. Through such a reading, it becomes possible to analyze what counter-hegemonic elements this cultural field contains and how these elements tend to get incorporated into the dominant culture so as to be stripped of their political possibilities. Implicit in such an analysis is the need to develop strategies in schools in which oppositional cultures provide the basis for a viable political force. Willis (1978) sums up this position when he writes:

> We must interrogate cultures, ask what are the missing questions they answer; probe the invisible grid of context, inquire what unsaid propositions are assumed in the invisible and surprising external forms of cultural life. If we can supply the premises, dynamics, logical relations of responses which look quite untheoretical and lived out "merely" as cultures, we will uncover a cultural politics. (p. 172)

Theories of resistance perform a theoretical service in their call for forms of political analyses that take as their object of study and transformation the radical themes and social practices that make up the class-based cultural fields and details of everyday life. Willis (1978) is stunningly accurate in his perception that if radical social theory is to investigate how "the detailed, informed and lived can enjoy its victory in a larger failure" (p. 176), such theories will have to develop strategies that link a politics of the concrete not just with questions concerning reproduction but also with the issue of social transformation. Moreover, rather than seeing culture simply as the reflex of hegemony and defeat, Willis (1977) and others have illuminated it as a social process that both embodies and reproduces lived antagonistic social relationships (Bennet, 1980; Giroux, 1981). This points to the importance of studying schools as social sites that contain levels of determination which have their own specificity and which, rather than reflect the wider society, have only a particular relationship to it. But there are also weaknesses in this approach which must be overcome if a viable theory of radical pedagogy is to be developed.

First, there is a strong tendency to underplay the role of the state in influencing schools and in shaping those hegemonic practices that don't show up in the most immediate experiences of the actors. Second, the concept of resistance and the form it takes is sometimes over-romanticized in these accounts, and the "dark side" is not readily acknowledged — anti-capitalist values do not lead inexorably toward socialism or to the dead-end of alienating labor; they also contain a logic that links them to the fascism of the Klu Klux Klan or other such movements. This oversight may explain, in part, the refusal of many theorists who study resistance to treat seriously either the sexual divisions that characterize working class subcultures or those forms of resistance displayed by working class women (McRobbie, 1980; MacDonald, 1980). There is a disturbing quality about the silence that accompanies these accounts regarding the violence that underpins the discourse and social relationships that male subcultures display toward the women that share their experiences. It is a silence that suggests that such theorists are not aware of their own connections to capitalist rationality and the equally insidious moments of class and sexual domination at its core. In addition, there is a tendency in these approaches to ignore those segments of the working class that accept the logic of domination — those who have, as Freire (1973) points out, internalized the oppressor. How do we account for their incorporation into the logic of defeat and exploitation? If hegemony, in all of its facets, is to be understood, then the answer to such a question is crucial.

Finally, there is a misplaced pessimism that stands between the critical Marxist orientation of these accounts and their focus on the existential dimensions of working class life. It is misplaced in the sense that beneath the celebration of resistance that they point to in schools, there is a refusal to develop concrete strategies that might help to move countercultural groups from the politics of oppositional style to a political struggle for power. Thus, in the end, resistance gets subsumed within the rationality of domination. For example, though theories of resistance argue that the logic of capital and its institutions are formed not in passivity but, in part, in opposition, the model that emerges still ends up serving the logic of the capitalist state.

Before preceding to the next section, in which I attempt to spell out what the theoretical components of a radical pedagogy might look like, I want to make it clear that the previous analysis of theories of reproduction is not meant to summarily dismiss whatever value they may have. The point is that these positions need to be read critically so that we can abstract from them those elements necessary for a more viable theory of radical pedagogy. In addition, the central task is to move beyond their weaknesses by developing perspectives and strategies that they have hitherto ignored. Central to such an approach will be a more complete analysis of the concepts of ideology, hegemony, and culture and of the implications these have in developing a critical theory of pedagogy.

Ideology

If ideology is to become a useful construct in the service of radical pedagogy, it will have to be rescued from the restrictive meanings that presently dominate its use. Unfortunately, the contemporary usage of the concept of ideology is one that often abstracts it from the critical tradition given to it by Marx (1967, 1972), Kosik (1976), Lukacs (1968), and other Western Marxists, and limits its meaning either to false consciousness or to myth, or even to the totality of an age. On the one hand, ideology as false consciousness is tied to a reflectionist epistemology and dissolves both the subject and the notion of active consciousness in a medicinal bath of class-based illusions. On the other hand, ideology as the expressive totality of an age (or as a system of myth or social reconstruction) lacks a rigorous systematic investigation of ideology as a form of consciousness and activity that is related to the politics of class domination, material production, and social conflict. In other words, there is no sense in these perspectives of how ideology is constituted within both society and the subject or how, in the dialectical relationship between subject and society, ideology is both acted upon and transformed in the ongoing dynamics of daily life.

People in capitalist societies live out their everyday lives within specific material and social relationships informed by subordination and domination and mediated by the unequal distribution of power. Any notion of ideology has to speak, then, to the material practices, modes of consciousness, and sedimented biographies that produce, as well as reproduce, such a society. Marx provided the basis for such a task in his somewhat differing treatment of ideology in *The German Ideology* (1972) and in *Capital* (1967). In Marx's (1967, 1972) work, there is a treatment of ideology that speaks to both critique and the possibilities inherent in consciousness. On the one hand, ideology typifies forms of consciousness and discourse made false by the social and material conditions in which they emerge. Ideology is viewed as a system of ideas that distorts reality in order to serve the interest of a dominant class and, furthermore, takes on the meaning of a mode of consciousness that falsely construes the representation of history. On the other hand, Marx's (1972) view of ideology delineates a form of ideology-critique and a call for political action — that is, "ideology becomes a mode of penetrating beyond the consciousness of human actors, and of uncovering the 'real foundations' of their activity, this being harnessed to the end of social transformation" (Giddens, 1979, pp. 166-167). What is useful about Marx's underdeveloped notion of ideology is that it calls into question the nature of consciousness and provides a productive starting point for analyzing the historical and contemporary processes whereby existing beliefs and practices are seen as legitimations of a given society.

Both the notion of ideology and ideology-critique have been further developed by George Lukacs (1968) who extended Marx's notion of commodity fetishism into the important concept of reification — the process whereby concrete relations between human beings are made to appear as objectified relations between things. According to Lukacs (1968), reification is both a moment of consciousness and an objective moment in the process of its production. Central to the notion of reification is the critique both of the social relations of production and of those forms of everyday consciousness that "freeze the moment," that accept the factuality of the given world without either questioning its mediations or tracing them back to their determinate sources in the wider society (Arato and Breines, 1979).

Reification as a form of ideology signifies both the limits and interconnections that exist between consciousness and capitalist society. Its value lies in its analysis of how consciousness becomes "trapped" within a social reality that objectifies social relations. Its value for radical pedagogy is implicit in its call for a mode of subjectivity that links mediation with totality in order to break through the false world of appearances and to change the social reality that needs them. Lukacs's (1968) theoretical quest for a more profound understanding of the mediations that penetrate the reifying immediacies of capitalist society prefigures a dialectical conception of ideology that strips it of its narrow definition as simply false consciousness.

But ideology is more than reification of consciousness and social relations; it is also consciousness struggling to constitute itself against the objectified nature of social life; it is ideology as thought-production. In other words, human beings in the course of their work and everyday lives are never reduced to objective representations of a reified social order. As Giddens (1979) points out:

> There is no circumstance in which the conditions of action can become wholly opaque to agents, since action is constituted via the accountability of practices; actors are always knowledgeable about the structural framework within which their conduct is carried on, because they draw upon that framework in producing their action at the same time as they reconstitute it through that action. (p. 145)

This insight extends the notion of ideology-critique by restoring subjectivity to its critical position as an active element in the production of historical conditions and social reality. For Giddens (1979) and others, the promise of ideology-critique is that it not only points, once again, to the active nature of consciousness, but also focuses on how distorted messages and images become embedded in different modes of communication and social practices that often carry meanings that must be made subject to criticism. Furthermore, this position points to the problematic relationship that exists between the consciousness of everyday life and those mediations that tie it to a social reality that disclaims radical possibilities that have been the legacy of history itself. In other words, ideology-critique also offers the possibility of restoring historical consciousness as an important dimension of critical thinking.

In short, political education needs a more dialectical notion of ideology — in this case one that stresses it as a mode of consciousness and practice that is related to specific formations and movements. This is particularly important if radical pedagogy is to move beyond the false notion that schools are mere sites designed to impose dominant hegemonic meanings and values upon relatively passive students and teachers. What is needed is a notion of ideology that provides an analysis of how schools sustain and produce ideologies as well as how individuals and groups in concrete relationships negotiate, resist, or accept them. This means analyzing the way in which domination is concealed at the institutional level. It suggests looking at the way a dominant ideology is inscribed in the form and content of classroom material, the organization of the school, the daily classroom social relationships, the principles that structure the selection and organization of the curriculum, and the discourse and practices of even those who appear to have penetrated the ideology's logic. This points to two different but related ideological elements. The first is situated in the relationship of schools to the state and to other powerful institutions exercising social control and class domination. The second exists in the practices and consciousness of individuals and social groups who experience their relationship to the world in social structures that are only partly of their own making. If we are to understand not only the distinction but also the relationship between these two ideological instances, we will have to extend the definition of ideology to include the concept of hegemony.

Hegemony

Though there exists no full developed theory of hegemony, the starting point for studying the concept has to begin with the work of Gramsci (1971). For Gramsci, neither political force nor the logic of capitalist development provides the theoretical basis for understanding or changing the nature of capitalist society. Gramsci believes that a more suitable approach would have to take the notion of consciousness more seriously — that is, the assumption that human beings become political actors as they move through and create the "terrain on which men move and acquire consciousness of their position, struggle" (p. 377). It is this link between struggle, domination, and liberation, on the one side, and Gramsci's view of the power of consciousness and ideology, on the other, that establishes the problematic for understanding his notion of hegemony.

Hegemony as used by Gramsci appears to have two meanings. First, it refers to a process within civil society whereby a fundamental class exercises control through its moral and intellectual leadership over allied classes. In this perspective, an alliance is formed among ruling groups as a result of the power and "ability of one class to articulate the interest of other social groups to its own" (Mouffe, 1979, pp. 182-183). Gramsci emphasizes that the intellectual and moral leadership exercised by the dominant class does not consist of the imposition of its own ideology upon allied groups; instead it represents a pedagogic and politically transformative process whereby the dominant class articulates a hegemonic principle that brings together common elements drawn from the world views and interests of allied groups. His second use of the term takes on a much more dynamic character, for here hegemony points to the relationship between the dominant and dominated classes. More explicitly, hegemony involves the successful attempt of a dominant class to utilize its control over the resources of state and civil society, particularly the mass media and the educational system, to establish its view of the world as all inclusive and universal. Through the dual use of force and consent (and with consent as more prevalent), the dominant class uses its political, moral, and intellecutal leadership to shape and incorporate the "taken-for-granted" views, needs, and concerns of subordinate groups. In doing so, the dominant class not only attempts to influence the interest and needs of such groups, but also contains radical opportunities by placing limits on oppositional discourse and practice.

One important feature of hegemonic rule is that it refers to more than the institutionalization and framing of specific modes of discourse; it also includes the messages incribed in material practices. In other words, hegemony is rooted in both the meanings and symbols that legitimate dominant interests as well as in the *practices* that structure daily experience.

In schools, as in other institutions, the production of hegemonic ideologies "hides" behind a number of legitimating forms. These forms include: the claim by the dominant classes that their interests represent the entire interests of the community; the claim that conflict only occurs outside of the sphere of the political — i.e., economic conflict is viewed as non-political and the presentation of specific forms of consciousness, beliefs, attitudes, values, and practices as natural, universal, or even eternal.

To suggest that hegemony is entered into by both the dominated and the dominant classes raises significant questions about the role that the dominated play in contributing to their own oppression and about the nature of hegemony itself. But in order to unravel such questions, the contradictory nature of ideological hegemony must be laid bare; for in none of its forms does hegemony represent a cohesive force; instead, it is riddled with contradictions and tensions that open up the possibility for counter-hegemonic struggle as well as reinforcing the distinction between hegemony and ideology.

Similarly, hegemony is a mode of control that has to be fought for constantly in order to maintain it. It is not something "that simply consists of the projection of the ideas of the dominant class into the heads of the subordinate classes" (Nield and Seed, 1979, p. 408). Hegemony has to shift ground on the terrain where it functions in order to accommodate the changing nature of historical circumstances and the demands and reflexive actions of human beings. This view of hegemony redefines class rule and also reveals a relationship between ideology and power, which is viewed not simply as imposition but, as Foucault (1977) points out, "a network or relations, constantly in tension, in activity, rather than a privilege one might possess." Ideology as an element of hegemony points, then, to one's limited perception of the world and to social practices that mold and shape the structure of dispositions and needs. Thus, power (as a form of production, which, rather than constraining the subject, becomes its constituting feature) represents both a negative and positive moment. As a negative moment, it strips ideology of its critical possibilities and institutionalizes it as a form of hegemony. As a positive moment, it refers to latent and manifest modes of critical discourse and practice that constitute the core of ideology.

The duality of power and control represents a crucial concept for viewing such sites as schools as instances of both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic struggles. Gramsci's notion that hegemony represents a pedagogical relationship through which the legitimacy of meaning and practice is fought over makes it imperative that a theory of radical pedagogy take as its central task an analysis of both how hegemony functions in schools and how various forms of resistance and opposition either challenge or help to sustain it.

Hegemony and ideology represent important concepts in educational theory and practice because they expose the political nature of schooling and point to possibilities for developing alternative modes of pedagogy. But helpful as these concepts are, in the end they are incomplete because they do not provide the theoretical framework for developing a notion of totality that reveals how a society reproduces and mediates a wide range of conflicting social formations, ideologies, and structures that either give it a specific historical location or expose its underlying determinations. For this we have to turn to the concept of culture.

Culture

Traditionally divorced from class, power, and conflict, the concept of culture has been reduced to an anthropological or sociological object of study that has not only obscured more than it has revealed but also has often become an apology for the status quo. A more fruitful starting point would politicize culture by acknowledging that the distinction between power and culture is a false one. At the core of such an acknowledgment lies a redefinition of the concept itself, one in which culture would be grounded within the category of society. Rather than viewing culture either as the general expression of society or as existing beyond its significations and material imperatives, culture would be defined in terms of its functional relationship to the dominant social formations and power relations in society. Such a politicized notion of culture would have to include the dialectical character of the relationship between ideology and the socio-economic system on the one hand, and "the dialectical character of the relation between critical and apologetic elements within the culture" (Dreitzel, 1977, p. 85) on the other.

Culture, in this sense, would be defined not simply as lived experiences functioning within the context of historically located structures and social groupings but as "lived antagonistic relations" situated within a complex of socio-political institutions and social forms that limit as well as enable human action. These "antagonistic relations" at the heart of any definition of culture suggest that it is more than an expression of experiences forged within the social and economic spheres of a given society. On the one hand, it is a complex realm of antagonistic experiences, mediated by power and struggle and rooted in the structural opposition of labor and capital; and on the other, it is the transformative ability of human beings to shape their lives while only being partially constrained by the social, political, and economic determinants that place interventions on their practice.

Culture is the instance of mediation between a society and its institutions (such as schools) and the experiences of those (such as teachers and students) who are in the institutions daily. But since culture is informed by the way power is used in a given society, the notion that culture is the "instance" of a particular social practice that becomes objectified and produces meaning has to be qualified. Instead, it is more appropriate to view culture as a number of divergent instances in which power is used unequally to produce different meanings and practices which, in the final analysis, reproduces a particular kind of society that functions in the interest of a dominant class. Thus, it is more appropriate to speak of cultures rather than culture. Thus, in a class specific society one speaks of a dominant culture and secondary cultures not so as to reduce consciousness and practice to the simple reflex of class but rather to point to the organizing principle in which "lived-antagonistic experiences" emerge. There is no homologous relationship between class and culture, but there are powerful determinations in a class-based society that roughly structure different cultural experiences along class lines. It is the nature of these determinations and the mechanisms by which they function in different social spheres (including schools) that should be the object of a study of the political notion of culture.

To rethink the concept of culture and its political implications is thus to attempt to articulate not only the experiences and practices that are distinctive to a specific group or class but also to link those experiences in both their transformative and passive relationships to the power exercised by the dominant class and the structural field over which it exercises control. Similarly, it is important to stress that, underlying the complex of dominant and secondary cultures, is a range of historical sediments, values, and attitudes which cannot be reduced to the category of class or to the logic of capital. As mentioned previously, issues regarding gender, ethnicity, as well as the dynamics of nature, cannot be framed exclusively within class definitions. Class definitions do not explain adequately the power and workings of gender or ethnicity issues just as the dialectics of nature cannot be reduced to historical laws or class analysis. Accordingly, it is against the dynamic image of this historical and contemporary landscape that we see the gaps, tensions, and contradictions that contain, but do not promise, the possibilities for changing the schools and the larger society.

In summary, I have stressed that the concepts of ideology, culture, and hegemony as reconstructed provide the theoretical basis for examining the dialectical relationship between the general relations of society and the process of schooling and that these concepts provide the starting point for developing a more useful theory of radical pedagogy. It is with a general treatment of this theory that I will conclude.

Toward a Radical Theory of Classroom Pedagogy

Within theories of reproduction, there has been a tendency to reduce social reality to a dualism. This has taken the form of either macro or micro levels of analyses in which structure and action appear as antinomies. If we are to move beyond such accounts, a more dialectical perspective is needed, one which shows how human agents and structures interpenetrate each other within historically located modes of activity. This suggests a view of structure, agency and power in which structures are viewed as both enabling and constraining elements with a social totality. In other words, structures become social sites mediated by forms of domination *and* resistance — that is, social sites where human agents constantly interact with, shape, and respond to objective forces which represent aspects of the broader social structure. This is an important point because theories of reproduction cannot explain the relationship of schools to the wider society either by limiting their analyses to the explication of subjectivity and the role of teachers and students within classrooms or by focussing exclusively on the objective structural determinants that influence the process of schooling. A more appropriate approach would view human agents as actively involved in the dialectical construction of social reality. Such a view would take as its starting point an analysis of the interface between structure and agency, subjectivity and social practice. The critical moment of such an analysis would consist in developing a theory of pedagogy that embraced the conditions in which reproduction and transformation interconnected within the lived experiences of those classes under study. The message here is that theoretical constructs that deal with reproduction and schooling must be returned to "their" living context.

But it is important to stress that a viable theory of radical pedagogy demands more than an analysis of the dialectical self-formation of human agents within wider structural contexts. What is also needed is a historical account of the dynamics of reproduction *and* transformation within and outside of schools. Such a view demands a theory informed by historical accounts that reveal and explain why different social classes have fought and struggled over specific concerns within contexts such as schools. Institutions, social classes, and social issues do not exist in a vacuum; what is needed is an account of their genesis and development. For example, when theories of reproduction make the claim that schools contain gaps and contradictions, they provide a valuable but limited insight; and they move from description to critical analysis only when they can illuminate the historical and sociological determinants that produce the gaps and contradictions. Moreover it is imperative such theories provide analyses that make distinctions among the relative strengths and degrees of "mediation" on which their insights depend. Clearly, if theories of reproduction are to become useful in the developing of a radical pedagogy, they will have to provide an account of how different mediations and determinations change over time, as well as an assessment of the possibility of using such determinations in promoting counter-hegemonic struggles both within and outside of the classroom. Finally, a theory of radical pedagogy must include an historical account that links the development of a given class to those social and economic forces that were instrumental in forming it. Ozolins (1979) puts the point well in his study of working class curriculum:

> Understanding the working class is impossible without understanding the history of the social pressures and conflicts which formed that class, but these relations must be traced through to the present . . . rather than just a study of working class culture and working class life; the way or forces by which their relationship is created and maintained can be investigated, questioned, and eventually transformed. (p. 50)

A critical theory of pedagogy will also have to acknowledge that, within certain historical contexts, concepts such as cultural reproduction, social reproduction, hegemony, and resistance may belong to the logic of abstract negation. In other words, though they provide powerful analytic tools to critique the capitalist imperatives that underlie its institutions and social relations, such concepts often take a mere negative stance toward the existing social order and "fail to show that something else is possible, that changes can take place" (Zinn, 1970, p. 47). It is important not to forget that we live at a time when a radical critique of this sort, if it doesn't understand its own limits, lends itself to the logic of management ideology (Dreire, 1980). For instance, within the last decade there has been a major decline in the American public's confidence in the ethos of capitalism and its major institutions — a crisis of legitimacy permeates this country. Unfortunately, the crisis that capitalism faces has not translated itself into large scale political opposition; instead, it has developed into massive and pervasive forms of cynicism.

Given the current mood of cynicism, despair, and defeatism, it is important for radical educators to move beyond theories of reproduction that do nothing more than analyze either the contradictions that exist in schools or the way in which schools are influenced by structural determinants in the wider society. If we are going to take the concept of class struggle seriously, it makes more sense to heed Horkheimer's (1972) suggestion that theoretical concerns should be translated into viable pedagogical tools for social change. He writes:

> The theoretician and his specific object are seen as forming a dynamic unity with the oppressed class, so that his presentation of societal contradictions is not merely an expression of the concrete historical situation but also a force within it to stimulate change. (p. 215)

Crucial as this issue is, it is imperative that theories of reproduction penetrate the barrier which prevents them from being able to deal with the issue of radical pedagogy constructively. On the one hand, most theories of reproduction recognize the need to understand how hegemony functions before it is possible for them to expose and challenge it in the wider society and the schools. On the other hand, the importance of such a critique remains in question unless the spirit of relentless criticism can be used to examine what kind of relationship a particular theory of reproduction has to the rationality underlying modes of hegemony under study. In other words, what must also be investigated is how a particular theory of reproduction, in spite of its claims, may lend support to the logic of hegemony. To pursue a critical analysis of the dominant society without the benefit of self-criticism places any theory of reproduction in the paradoxical position of possibly serving the very system of domination that it intends to overcome.

Theory of Domination — A more viable theory of domination, particularly as it addresses itself to schools, would have to examine how hegemonic ideologies get mediated in school discourse, materials, social relationships, and school rituals. Moreover, it would have to examine the different ways in which such ideologies become part of the character structure of students from various classes (Bourdieu, 1977b; Heller, 1976). Existing reproductive theories are too cognitive and say too little about the violence that is waged against the body, psyche, and emotional needs of many students. Thus, what is needed is a form of social analysis that points to both consciousness and needs as important sites in which ideology presents itself as lived experience.

Theory of Resistance — Ideology as thought-production suggests that contradictions exist not only between social sites but also within them. No social site is ever free from some form of opposition and resistance. What is needed for a radical theory of pedagogy is a notion of resistance that is capable of recognizing both its strengths and weaknesses, particularly as these translate themselves into viable classroom practices. For instance, Willis (1977) demonstrates that there are forms of resistance that end up serving the existing mode of domination in capitalist societies. What is needed is a clearer understanding of what resistance actually is and how the lived experiences that inform it can become part of a theory of radical pedagogy. For example, it is important to acknowledge that the connection between domination and resistance represents a contradiction within the oppressed themselves. Too often only one side of this contradiction is focused on by radicals. In such studies working class students are celebrated for their oppositional language, yet it is conveniently forgotten that the language is sexist or racist or does violence to other human beings. As mentioned previously, such theories forget that class domination is not the only form of domination or that what may appear to be "resistance" in the most immediate sense may represent a form of domination in the long run. All forms of social domination have to be studied against the assumptions and practices they produce and the distinct forms of resistance that contest them. By identifying the limits of certain forms of resistance, it becomes easier to develop strategies that work toward extending their political potential.

Beyond Resistance and Domination

It is in the interface of domination and resistance, on the one hand, and structure and human agency, on the other, that a strategy for a radical pedagogy must be grounded. Central to such a pedagogy is a mode of critique that will imbue both teachers and students with the hope that change is possible. In addition to the need for vision that suggests that a qualitatively better society is possible, there is also the need for a radical pedagogy to develop a theory of intellectual struggle; for if teachers and students are going to examine their own lives in order to understand the ways in which they have been formed within the context of the ideological and material practices that dominate the wider society, a viable theory of pedagogy will have to take seriously the question of cultural capital as a pedagogical and political capital. What this means is that radical pedagogy will have to give due weight to the life experiences of those students who are the object of its analysis. For instance, at the level of classroom pedagogy, it is imperative that the concepts and tools used in the pursuit of social and self-analysis by students be rooted in the cultural capital that constitutes and mediates their relationship to the world. In the case of working-class students, this does not mean, as some have suggested (Entwistle, 1979), an unqualified celebration of their life-style, manners, or history. Instead, it suggests that for the notion of intellectual struggle to become productive, it must be recognized that any form of pedagogy "has to become meaningful before it can become critical" (Whitty, 1980 pp. 8-9). In more specific terms, for students who have been relatively voiceless within schools, it is vital that their experiences be given some form of validation. Thus, working class cultural capital should become a vehicle both for self-affirmation and for providing the grounds for learning — and not simply the object of unqualified and uncritical celebration. Learning, as such, involves not only a process of appropriating one's own history, but also becoming conscious of the forces that have shaped it, so that its limitations can be understood and reconstructed (Gould, 1974).

The notion of radical pedagogy raises, of course, serious questions about what constitutes appropriate knowledge for working class students. In the most general sense, any approach to knowledge aimed at these students must take seriously the concepts of work, class, and gender. This is not a call to ignore traditional humanistic disciplines and subject matter but a selective concern about what kind of knowledge is really useful for students traditionally excluded from the privileges of power and self-determination. Clearly students need to learn those skills that are necessary for a self-managed existence in this society, but they also need to go beyond learning literacy skills or the traditional academic disciplines. In addition, they need to learn how knowledge is produced and reconstructed, how to theorize, and how to judge knowledge from a class and political perspective. They need to learn the kind of knowledge that promotes social analysis and points to transformative social action (Giroux, 1981; Freire, 1973).

Knowledge for working-class students must illuminate the themes that dominate their lives through the use of pedagogical approaches that contribute simultaneously to the awakening of their political consciousness. Similarly, the students must learn to respect their own language and traditions while, at the same time, learning how to master the knowledge codes and skills appropriated by the dominant classes. Hopefully, working class students, who have been historically excluded from the dominant discourses, will be able to master the critical elements inscribed in the traditional culture and use them for their individual and class benefit. A theory of radical pedagogy must critically understand and demonstrate how specific knowledge codes affect the nature of pedagogical understanding and practice. The relationship between a self-reflexive mode of pedagogy and how it might be used to help empower students to think critically is captured in Feinberg's (1980) comment:

> It would mean that learning theory and research would try not only to account for how those differences influence the way in which various groups of youngsters come to understand their own role in the larger scheme of things. It would examine the way in which knowledge in the classroom is defined for different groups of students and the influence that this has on their self understanding, on their understanding of the kinds of people and learners they are, and how this understanding may or may not facilitate their later acceptance or rejection of their social role. (p. 387)

Needless to say, the hegemonic nature of schooling is also rooted in those forms of classroom social practice that sustain capitalist social relations. Forms of organization and social process need to be developed that promote individual and collective affirmation, encourage social relationships devoid of racist and sexist messages, and provide students with the possibility for dialogue and reflective struggle. Students need social experiences that promote critical reflection and demonstrate alternative ways of collective learning.

It is also important to stress that radical strategies of intervention at the classroom level treat acts of resistance as more than an index to register and chart opposition to the dominant school culture; such resistance can be used to provide the basis for furthering political understanding if it is utilized "to direct students towards an active explanation of *why* the social world resists and frustrates their wishes and *how* social action may focus upon such constraints" (Whitty, 1980, pp. 16-17). Students can also be shown through studies of people's history (Zinn, 1980), third world history, women's history, and popular socialist movements that alternative social relationships have existed and do exist. For instance, the latter studies can be used to demonstrate that possibilities for "new relationships in the family, the workplace, the schools, the neighborhood, etc" (Dreire, 1980, p. 113) have existed in the past, and that such alternatives exist as real possibilities in the present. Similarly, these studies can be used to indicate that people have the power to both change and make history through collective struggle (Anyon, 1981).

Finally, it must not be forgotten that radical approaches to education are doomed to failure if cut off from wider political analyses and struggles. In general terms, this suggests that the dynamics of classroom pedagogy cannot be understood if abstracted from a theory of the state, a theory of capital accumulation and reproduction, and a theory of institutions. Similarly, the ultimate purpose of radical pedagogy is not simply one of changing people's consciousness or of restructuring schools along more democratic principles; such aims are important but are reformist in nature and incomplete when viewed within a radical problematic. At the core of any radical pedagogy must be the aim of empowering people to work for a change in the social, political, and economic structure that constitutes the ultimate source of class-based power and domination. This perspective is crucial because it reminds us that schools represent only one, if very important, site to be used in the search for truth and the struggle for power.

Notes

1. Of course, there are exceptions. These include a number of radical theorists, the most notable being Apple (1979); Anyon (1980); and Feinberg (1980).

2. Needless to say, this position is especially prevalent among radical educators in the United States. Other examples include: Carnoy and Levin (1976); and Wilcox and Moriarty (1980).

3. See Cohen (1978); Corrigan (1979); and Hebdige (1979).

4. For some excellent critiques of Althusser (1971) on these issues, see Thompson (1978); Erbeen and Gleeson (1977); Best and Connolly (1979); and Aronowitz (1980b). It is important to point out, as Aronowitz does in his exemplary critique, that Althusser's definition of ideology cannot be summarily dismissed. For instance, we would wish to retain Althusser's notion that ideology is transhistorical, as well as his insistance that ideology exists not only in the realm of ideas but also within forms of social life — i.e., the lived experiences and social relations of everyday life.

5. For an especially good treatment of this issue, see Vogt (1978).

6. The importance of this kind of analysis is demonstrated in Harty (1979).

7. A comprehensive analysis of theories of cultural reproduction can be found in Macdonald (1977) and Sharp (1980).

8. For some excellent examples of this kind of work, see Giddens (1979); Aronowitz (1973, 1980); and Feinberg (1980).

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Curricular form and the logic of technical control

3

M. W. Apple

Introduction

Within the last few years there have been significant attempts in many of the industrialized countries to influence directly the educational process in ways that will meet the needs of capitalist accumulation. To a large extent these efforts have been stimulated by the current crisis in the accumulation process, a crisis reflected in declining rates of economic productivity and growth (Castells, 1980). Often these efforts have been viewed as 'easing the transition from school to work' by providing students with more information more obvious, a much more subtle influence can be found. This is the degree to which education reinforces the system of technical control over the labor process, and therefore the extraction of labor on behalf of capitalist production.

It is the purpose of this article to elaborate on how within a specific mode of production the nature of 'technology', in itself, helps create a system of extraction of labor and how a similar logic is transforming the day-to-day patterns of knowledge and social relations in schools, though not in any mechanistic way. This is of major importance since I will show that there is a far more pervasive aspect of education that supports the logic of technical control of the labor process than these more visible recent attempts by business, industry, and the state to control what is actually being taught in schools. As will be demonstrated in this article, this aspect is embodied in the very organization, the form, of the curriculum itself.

To make the context of my arguments clear, let us first examine what these overt efforts by the state and industry to bring schools more closely into line with 'economic needs' look like.

Corporate Ideologies: Reaching the Teacher

Neither side of the Atlantic has been immune to these pressures on the educational system. In the UK, the Great Debate and the Green

Paper stand as remarkable statements to the ability of capital in times of economic crisis to marshall its forces. They both document the fact that the criterion of functional efficiency for capital is now to be the prime element in educational policy. As the Green Paper argues:

> The total resources which will be available for education and the social services in the future will depend largely on the success of the Industrial Strategy. It is vital to Britain's economic recovery and standard of living that the performance of manufacturing industry is improved and that the whole range of Government policies, including education, contribute as much as possible to improving industrial performance and thereby increasing the national wealth. (Donald, 1979; 36-37).

In the United States, where governmental policies are more highly mediated by a different articulation between the state, the economy, and schools, this kind of pressure exists in powerful ways as well. Often the workings of industry are even more visible. Chairs of Free Enterprise devoted to economic education are springing up at universities throughout the country. Teaching the message of industry has become a real force. Let me give one example taken from what is known as the Ryerson Plan, a corporate plan to have teachers spend their summers working mainly with management in industry so that they can teach their students 'real knowledge' about corporate needs and benefits.

> The anti-business, anti-free enterprise bias prevalent in many parts of our American society today is very real and is growing. Unless we quit just talking about it -- and do something about it now -- it will prosper and thrive in the fertile minds of our youth. It will be nurtured and fed by many teachers who have good intentions but no real knowledge of how a free market operates in a free society . . .
>
> Our response is simple and effective. Reach the high school teachers of America with the true story of American business and they will carry the message to their students and their fellow teachers. The message, coming directly from the teacher, rather than books, pamphlets or films, will have a far more telling and lasting effect. Convince one teacher of the vital importance of our free enterprise system and you're well on your way to convincing hundreds of students over a period of years. It's the ripple effect that anti-business factions have been capitalizing on for years.[1] (Ryerson, no date)

This is, of course, only one of many plans for getting the ideological message across. In fact, though there has been serious resistance to this kind of material by progressive forces in the United States, the movement to 'teach for the needs of industry' is growing rapidly enough so that a clearinghouse, appropriately named the Institute for Constructive Capitalism, has been established at the University of Texas to make the material more readily available (Downing, 1979).

Now I do not want to minimize the importance of such overt attempts at influencing teachers and students. To do so would be the height of folly. However, by keeping our focus only on these overt attempts at bringing school policy and curriculum into closer correspondence with industrial needs, we may neglect what is happening that may be just as powerful at the level of day-to-day school practice. One could fight the battles against capital's overt encroachments (and perhaps win some of these battles) and still lose within the school itself. For as I shall argue here, some of the ideological and material influences of our kind of social formation on teachers and students are not most importantly found at the level of these kinds of documents or plans, but at the level of social practice *within* the routine activities in schools.[2]

In essence, I want to argue that ideologies are not only global sets of interests, things imposed by one group on another. They are embodied by our common sense meanings and practices (Williams, 1977). Thus, if you want to understand ideology at work in schools, look as much at the concreta of day-to-day curricular and pedagogic life as you would at the statements made by spokespersons of the state or industry. To quote from Finn, Grant, and Johnson, we need to look not only at ideologies 'about' education but ideologies 'in' it as well (Finn, Grant, Johnson, and the CCCS Education Group, 1978: 3-4).

I am not implying that the level of practice in schools is fundamentally controlled in some mechanistic way by private enterprise. As an aspect of the state, the school mediates and transforms an array of economic, political and cultural pressures from competing classes and class segments. Yet we tend to forget that this does not mean that the logics, discourses, or modes of control of capital will not have an increasing impact on everyday life in our educational institutions, especially in times of what has been called 'the fiscal crisis of the state' (O'Connor, 1973). This impact, clearly visible in the United States (though it is becoming more prevalent in Canada, Europe and Latin America as well), is especially evident in curriculum, in essence in some very important aspects of the actual stuff that students and teachers interact with.

In this essay, I shall be particularly interested in curricular *form*, not curricular content. That is, my focus will not be on what is actually taught, but on the manner in which it is organized. As a number of Marxist cultural analysts have argued, the workings of ideology can be seen most impressively at the level of form as well as what the form has in it (Jameson, 1971; Williams, 1977; Apple, 1978). As I shall argue here, this is a key to uncovering the role of ideology 'in' education.

To understand what is occurring in the school and the ideological and economic pressures being placed upon and which work their way through it, we need to begin by situating it within certain long term trends in the capital accumulation process. Recently these trends have intensified and have had a rather major impact on a variety of areas of social life. Among these trends we can identify certain tendencies such as:

> the concentration and centralization of capitals; the expansion of labour processes that are based on production line technologies and forms of control; the continuing decline of 'heavy industry' and the movement of capital into modern 'lighter' forms of production, most notably the production of consumer durables; and major shifts in the composition of labour power — the secular tendency to 'de skilling', the separation of 'conception' from 'execution' and the creation of new technical and control skills, the shift of labour out of direct production and into circulation and distribution, and the expansion of labour within the state.[1] (Clarke, 1978.)

Deskilling and Reskilling

In corporate production, firms purchase labor power. That is, they buy the capacity one has to do work and, obviously, will often seek to expand the extraction of that labor to make it more productive. There is an opposite side to this. With the purchase of labor power goes the 'right' to stipulate (within certain limits) how it is to be used, without too much interference or participation by workers in the conception and planning of the work (Edwards, 1979: 17). How this has been accomplished has not stayed the same, of course. Historically, there has been a changing logic of control that has sought to accomplish these ends.

We can distinguish three kinds of control that can be employed to help extract more work — simple, technical, and bureaucratic. Simple control is exactly that, simply telling someone that you have decided what should go on, and they should follow or else. Technical controls are less obvious. They are controls embedded in the physical structure of one's job. A good example is the use of numerical control technology in the machine industry where a worker inserts a card into a machine and it directs the pace and skill level of the operation. Thus, the worker is meant to be simply an attendant to the machine itself. And, finally, bureaucratic control signifies a social structure where control is less visible since the principles of control are embodied within the *hierarchical* social relations of the workplace. Impersonal and bureaucratic rules concerning the direction of one's work, the procedures for evaluating performance, and sanctions and rewards are dictated by institutionally approved policy (Edwards, 1979: 19-21). Each of these modes of control has grown in sophistication over the years, though simple control has tended to become less important as the size and complexity of production has increased.

The long period of experimentation by industry on the most successful modes of controlling production led to a number of conclusions. It was found that rather than relying on simple control openly exercised by supervisors or persons in authority (control that could possibly be subverted by blue or white collar workers), power could be 'made invisible' by incorporating it into the very structure of the work itself. This had the following implications. The control must come from what seems to be a legitimate overall structure. It must be concerned with the actual work, not based on features extraneous to it (like favoritism and so on). Perhaps most importantly, the job, the process, and the product should be defined as precisely as possible on the basis of management's, not the worker's, control over the specialized knowledge needed to carry it out (Edwards, 1979: 110). This often entailed the development of technical control.

Technical control and deskilling tend to go hand in hand. Deskilling is part of a long process in which the labor process is divided and then redivided to increase productivity, to reduce 'inefficiency', and to control both the cost and the impact of labor. It usually has involved taking relatively complex jobs (most jobs are much more complex and require more decision-making than people give them credit for), jobs which require no small amount of skill and decision-making, and breaking their components down into specified actions with specified results so that less skilled and costly personnel can be used or so that the control of work pace and outcome is enhanced. The assembly line is, of course, one of the archetypical examples of this process. At its beginnings, deskilling tended to involve techniques such as Taylorism and various time and motion studies. Though these strategies for the division and control of labor were less than totally successful (and in fact often generated a significant amount of resistance and conflict) (Noble, 1977; Burawoy, 1979), they did succeed in helping to legitimate a style of control based in large part on deskilling.

One of the more effective strategies has been the incorporation of control into the actual productive process itself. Thus, machinery in factories is now often designed so that the machinist is called upon to do little more than load and unload the machine. In offices, word processing technology is employed to reduce labor costs and deskill workers. Thus, management attempts to control both the pace of the work and the skills required, to more effectively increase their profit margins or productivity. Once again, as the history of formal and informal labor resistance documents, this kind of strategy — the building of controls into the very warp and woof of the production process — has been contested (Apple, 1980b; see also Aronowitz, 1978). However, the growing sophistication of management and state bureaucrats in the use of technical control procedures is apparent (Edwards, 1979).

I have mentioned that deskilling is a complex process as it works its way through a variety of economic and cultural institutions. Yet it really is not that hard to grasp one of its other important aspects. When jobs are deskilled, the knowledge that once accompanied them, knowledge that was controlled and used by workers in carrying out their day-to-day lives on their jobs, goes somewhere. Management attempts (with varying degrees of success) to accumulate and control this assemblage of skills and knowledge. It attempts, in other words, to separate conception from execution. The control of knowledge enables management to plan;[4] ideally, the worker should simply carry these plans out to the specifications, and at the pace, set by people away from the actual point of production.

But deskilling is accompanied by something else, what might be called reskilling. New techniques are required to run new machines; new occupations are created as the redivision of labor goes on. Fewer skilled craftspersons are needed and their previous large numbers are replaced by a smaller number of technicians with different skills who oversee the machinery (Barker and Downing, 1979). This process of deskilling and reskilling is usually spread out over the landscape of an economy so it is rather difficult to trace out the relationships. It is not very usual to see this process going on at a level of specificity that makes it clear, since, while one group is being deskilled, another group – often separated by time and geography — is being reskilled. However, one particular institution – the school – provides an exceptional microcosm for seeing these kinds of mechanisms of control in operation.

In examining this we should remember that capitalist production has developed unevenly, so that certain areas of our social institutions will vary in the kind of control being used. Some institutions will be more resistant than others to the logic of corporate rationalization. Given the relatively autonomous nature of teaching (one can usually close one's door and not be disturbed) and given the internal history of the kinds of control in the institution (paternalistic styles of administration, often in the USA based on gender relations), the school has been partially resistant to technical and bureaucratic control, ***at the level of actual practice***, until relatively recently. This 'relative autonomy' may be breaking down today (Dale, 1979). For just as the everyday discourse and patterns of interaction in the family and in, say, the media are increasingly being subtly transformed by the logic and contradictions of dominant ideologies (Gitlin, 1979),[5] so too is the school a site where these subtle ideological transformations occur. I shall claim that this goes on through a process of technical control. As we shall now see, these logics of control can have a rather profound impact on schools.

Controlling Curricular Form

The best examples of the encroachment of technical control procedures are found in the exceptionally rapid growth in the use of pre-packaged sets of curricular materials. It is nearly impossible now to walk into an American classroom, for instance, without seeing boxes upon boxes of science, social studies, mathematics and reading materials ('systems', as they are sometimes called) lining the shelves and in use.[6] In these cases, a school system purchases a total set of standardized material, usually one which includes statements of objectives, all of the needed curricular content and material, prespecified teacher tasks and appropriate student responses, and diagnostic and achievement tests that are coordinated with the instructional tasks and materials. Usually, these tests have the curricular knowledge 'reduced' to 'appropriate' behaviors and skills. This concern with skills will become rather significant later on in my analysis.

Let me give one example, actually taken from one of the better of the widely used curricular systems, of the numerous sets of materials that are becoming the standard fare in American elementary schools. It is taken from *Module One* of *Science: A Process Approach*. The notion of module is important here. The material is prepackaged into cardboard boxes with attractive colors. It is divided into 105 separate modules, each of which includes a set of prespecified concepts to teach. The material specifies all of the goals. It includes everything a teacher 'needs' to teach, has the pedagogical steps a teacher must take to reach these goals already built in, and has the evaluation mechanisms built into it as well. But that is not all. Not only does it prespecify nearly all a teacher should know, say, and do, but it often lays out the appropriate student responses to these elements as well.

To make this clear, here is one sequence taken from the material which lays out the instructional procedure, student response, and evaluative activity. It concerns colors.

> As each child arrives at school, fasten a red, yellow, or blue paper rectangle on the child's shirt or dress . . . Comment on the color of the paper and ask the child to say the name of the color he or she is wearing . . .
>
> Put thirty yellow, red, and blue paper squares in a large bag or small box. Show the children three paper plates: one marked red, one yellow, and one blue. (See *Materials* for suggestions on marking.) These colors should closely match those in the bag. Ask the children to come forward, a few at a time, and let each child take one square from the bag and place it on the plate marked with the matching color. [A picture of this with a child picking out paper from a box and putting it on a plate is inserted here in the material so that no teacher will get the procedure wrong.] As each child takes a colored square, ask him to name the color of that square. If the child hesitates, name it for him. (*Science . . . A Process Approach*, 1974: 3-4).

In the curricular material, everything except the bag or box is included — all the plates and colored paper. (The cost for the plan and the paper is $14.00.)

I noted that not only were the curricular and pedagogical elements prespecified, but all other aspects of teachers' actions were included as well. Thus, in the 'Appraisal' of this module, the teacher is asked to:

> Ask each of six children to bring a box of crayons and sit together . . . Ask each child to point to his red crayon when you say the word red. Repeat this for all six colors. Ask each child to match one crayon with one article of clothing that someone else is wearing . . . Before each group of children leaves the activity, ask each child individually to name and point to the red, blue, and yellow crayon. (*Science . . . A Process Approach*, 1974: 7.)

Even with this amount of guidance, it is still 'essential' that we know for each child whether he or she has reached the appropriate skill level. Thus, as the final element, the material has competency measures built into it. Here the specification reaches its most exact point, giving the teacher the exact words he or she should use:

> Task 1: Show the child a yellow cube and ask, What is the color of this cube?

This is done for each color. Then, after arranging orange, green, and purple cubes in front of a child, the material goes on

> Task 4: Say, Put your finger on the orange cube.
> Task 5: Say, Put your finger on the green cube.
> Task 6: Say, Put your finger on the purple cube. (*Science . . . A Process Approach*, 1974: 7.)

I have gone on at length here so that you can get a picture of the extent to which technical control enters into the life of the school. Little in what might be metaphorically called the 'production process' is left to chance. In many ways, it can be considered a picture of deskilling. Let us look at this somewhat more closely.

My point is not to argue against the specific curricular or pedagogical content of this kind of material, though a critical analysis certainly would be interesting.[7] Rather, it is to have us focus on the *form* itself. What is *this* doing? For notice what has happened here. The goals, the process, the outcome, and the evaluative criteria for assessing them are defined as precisely as possible by people external to the situation. In the competency measure at the end of the module, this extends to the specification of even the exact words the teacher is to say.

Notice as well the process of deskilling at work here. Skills that teachers used to need, that were deemed essential to the craft of working with children — such as curriculum deliberation and planning, designing teaching and curricular strategies for specific groups and individuals based on intimate knowledge of these people — are no longer as necessary. With the large scale influx of prepackaged material, planning is separated from execution. The planning is done at the level of the production of both the rules for use of the material and the material itself. The execution is carried out by the teacher. In the process, what were previously considered valuable skills slowly atrophy because they are less often required.[8]

But what about the element of reskilling that I mentioned earlier was essential to understand how ideological forms can penetrate to the heart of institutions like the school? Unlike the economy where deskilling and reskilling are not usually found operating at one and the same moment with one and the same people, in the school this seems to be exactly the case. As the procedures of technical control enter into the school in the guise of predesigned curricular/teaching/evaluation 'systems', teachers are being deskilled. Yet they are also being reskilled in a way that is quite consequential. We can see signs of this at both teacher training institutions, in inservice workshops and courses, in the journals devoted to teachers, in funding and enrollment patterns, and not the least in the actual curricular materials themselves. While the deskilling involves the loss of craft, the ongoing atrophication of educational skills, the reskilling involves the substitution of the skills and ideological visions of management. The growth of behavior modification techniques and classroom management strategies and their incorporation within both curricular material and teachers' repertoires signifies these kinds of alterations. That is, as teachers lose control of the curricular and pedagogic skills to large publishing houses, these skills are replaced by techniques for better controlling students.

This is not insignificant in its consequences for both teachers and students. Since the material is often organized around and employs specified outcomes and procedures and these are built into this kind of material itself (with its many worksheets and frequent tests), it is 'individualized' in many ways. Students can engage in it themselves with little overt interaction on the part of the teacher or each other as they become more used to the procedures, which are usually highly standardized. The students' progress through the system can be individualized, at least according to speed; and this focus on individualizing the speed (usually through worksheets and the like) at which a student proceeds through the system is becoming even more pronounced in newer curricular systems. Since the control is technical — that is, management strategies are incorporated into it as a major aspect of the pedagogical/curricular/evaluative 'machinery' itself — the teacher becomes something of manager. This is occurring *at the same time* that the objective conditions of his or her work are becoming increasingly 'proletarianized' due to the curricular form's logic of technical control. This is a unique situation and certainly needs further thought. The possible effect of these forms of technical control on the students is just as serious and is something to which I shall return shortly.

Yet there are important consequences besides the deskilling and reskilling that are occurring. As the literature on the labor process reminds us, the progressive division and control of labor also has an impact at the level of social relations, on how the people involved interact. While this has had a momentous effect in factories and offices, its effects will undoubtedly be felt in the school too. And as in the workplace, the impact may have contradictory results.

Let me be more specific here. With the increasing employment of prepackaged curricular systems as the basic curricular form, virtually no interaction among teachers is required. If nearly everything is rationalized and specified before execution, then contact among teachers about actual curricular matters is minimized.[9]

If such technical control is effective, that is, if teachers actually respond in ways that accept the separation of planning from execution, then one would expect results that go beyond this 'mere' separation. One would expect, at the level of classroom practice, that it will be more difficult for teachers to jointly gain informal control over curricular decisions because of their increasing isolation. In essence, if everything is predetermined, there is no longer any pressing need for teacher interaction. Teachers become unattached individuals, divorced from both colleagues and the actual stuff of their work. However, and here is part of what I mean by a contradictory effect, while this may be an accurate estimation of one of the results of technical control on one level, it forgets that most systems of control embody contradictions within themselves. For instance, while deskilling, forms of technical control, and the rationalization of work have created isolated individuals in, say, factories, historically they have often generated contradictory pressures as well. The use of technical control has often brought unionization in its wake (Edwards, 1979: 181). Even given the ideology of professionalism (an ideology that might make it difficult for collective struggles to evolve) which tends to dominate certain sectors of the teaching force, other state employees who in the past have thought of themselves as professionals have gained a greater collective sense in response to similar modes of control. Thus, the loss of control and knowledge in one arena may generate countervailing tendencies in another.

We cannot know yet how this will turn out. These contradictory results only emerge over long periods of time. In industry, it took decades for such an impact to be felt. The same will no doubt be true in schools.

Accepting Technical Control

So far in this essay, I have looked at teachers as if they were workers. That is, I have argued that the processes that act on blue and white collar workers in the larger social arena will and are entering into the *cultural forms* that are considered legitimate in schools. Yet schools, because of their internal history, are different in some very important ways from factories and offices, and teachers are still very different from other workers in terms of the conditions of their work. Products are not as visible (except much later on in the rough reproduction of a labor force, in the production and reproduction of ideologies, and in the production of the technical/administrative knowledge 'required' by an economy) (Apple, 1979a; Apple, 1979b; Noble, 1977)[10] as in offices and factories. Teachers have what Erik Olin Wright has called a 'contradictory class location' and hence cannot be expected to react in the same ways as the workers and employees of large corporations (E. Wright, 1978). Furthermore, there are children who respond to teachers in ways an automobile on an assembly line or a paper on a desk cannot.[11] Finally, teaching does not take place on a line, but goes on in separate rooms more often than not.

All of these conditions do not mean that schools are immune or autonomous from the logic of capital. The logic will be mediated (in part due to the school as a *state* apparatus); it will enter where it can in partial, distorted, or coded ways. Given the specific differences of schools from other workplaces, a prime moment in its entry can be found less at the level of overt or simple controls (do this because I say so) or at the level of bureaucratic form (because individual teachers can still be relatively free from those kinds of encroachments).[12] These controls will go on, of course; but they may be less consequential than the encoding of technical control into the very basis of the curricular form itself. The level of curricular, pedagogic, and evaluative practice within the classroom can be controlled by the forms into which culture is commodified in schools. If my arguments are correct, then how are we to understand the acceptance and growth of this process of control?

These forms enter into schools not because of any conspiracy on the part of industrialists to make our educational institutions serve the needs of capital, as in the earlier quotes from the Green Paper and the Ryerson Plan. It occurs in large part because schools are a rather lucrative market. These sets of material are published by firms who aggressively market where there is a need, or where they can create needs. It is simply good business practice in terms of profit margins to market material of this type, especially since the original purchase of the 'system' or set of modules means increasing purchases over the years. Let me explain this by comparing it to another arena where similar techniques are employed to increase capital accumulation. Think of shaving. Large razor blade manufacturers sell razors at below cost, or even sometimes give them away as promotional 'gimmicks', because they believe that once you buy the razor you will continue to buy their blades and their upgraded version year after year. In the curricular system we are considering here, the purchase of the modules (though certainly not cheap by any stretch of the imagination) with their sets of standardized disposable material means the same thing. One 'needs' to continue to purchase the work and test sheets, the chemicals, the correctly colored and shaped paper, the publishers' replacements of outmoded material and lessons, etc. Profits are heightened with every replacement that is bought. Since replacement purchases are often bureaucratically centralized, because of budget control, in the office of the administrator, the additional material is usually bought from the producer (often at exorbitant costs) not gotten from one's local store.

Thus, as with other industries, this 'good business sense' means that high volume, the standardization of each of the elements of one's product and of its form, product upgrading, and then the stimulation of replacement purchasing are essential to maintain profits (Barker and Downing, 1979).[11]

Yet the notion of aggressive marketing and good business sense is but a partial explanation of this growth. In order to fully comprehend the acceptance of technical control procedures embodied in curricular form, we need to know something of the history of why these kinds of materials evolved in the first place. Let me note these briefly.

The original introduction of prepackaged material was stimulated by a specific network of political, cultural, and economic forces, originally in the 1950s and 1960s in the United States. The views of academics that teachers were unsophisticated in major curriculum areas 'necessitated' the creation of what was called teacher-proof material. The cold war climate (created and stimulated by the state in large part) led to a focus on the efficient production of scientists and technicians as well as a relatively stable workforce; thus, the 'guaranteeing' of this production through the school curriculum became of increasing import (Spring, 1976). On top of this was the decision of the educational apparatus of the state, under the National Defense Education Act, to provide the equivalent of cash credits to local school districts for the purchase of new curricula created by the 'private sector' to increase this efficiency. At the same time, the internal dynamics within education played a part since behavioral and learning psychology — on whose principles so much of these systems relies — gained increasing prestige in a field like education where being seen as a science was critically important both for funding and to deflect criticism (Apple, 1979a). In the more recent past, the increasing influence of industrial capital within the executive and legislative branches of government (O'Connor, 1973), as well as in the attendant bureaucracy, no doubt is an essential element here since there is re cent evidence that the federal government has backed away from the widespread production and distribution of large scale curricula, preferring to stimulate the 'private sector' to enter even more deeply into such production.[14]

This gives us a brief sense of history, but why the continued movement toward this today? A key element here is seeing the school as an aspect of the state apparatus. For the state's need for *consent* as well as control means that the forms of control in school will be encoded in particular ways (Donald, 1979: 44).

The strategic import of the logic of technical control in schools lies in its ability to integrate into one discourse what are often seen as competing ideological movements, and, hence, to generate consent from each of them. The need for accountability and control by administrative managers, the real needs of teachers for something that is 'practical' to use with their students, the interest of the state in efficient production and cost savings,[15] the concerns of parents for 'quality education' that 'works' (a concern that will be coded differently by different classes and class segments), industrial capital's own requirements for efficient production and so on, can be joined. It is here that one can see how two important functions of the state can be accomplished. The state can assist in capital *accumulation* by attempting to provide a more efficient 'production process' in schools. At the same time, it can *legitimate* its own activity by couching its discourse in language that is broad enough to be meaningful to each of what it perceives to be important constituencies, yet specific enough to give some practical answers to those who, like teachers, 'require' it. The fact that the form taken by these curricular systems is tightly controlled and more easily made 'accountable', that it *is* usually individualized, that it focuses on skills in a time of perceived crisis in the teaching of 'basic skills', etc., nearly guarantees its acceptability to a wide array of classes and interest groups.

Thus, the logic of control is both mediated and reinforced by the needs of state bureaucrats for accountable and rational procedures and by the specific nexus of forces acting on the state itself. The curriculum form will take on the aspects which are necessary to accomplish both accumulation and legitimation.[16] As Clarke puts it:

> Even where institutions meet a logic required by capital, their form and direction are never the outcome of a simple unidirectional imposition by capital. They involve a complex political work of concession and compromise, if only to secure the legitimacy of the state in popular opinion (Clarke, 1978: 241).

This is exactly what has occurred in the use of this kind of curricular form.

The Possessive Individual

So far I have examined the encroachment into the work of teachers of the technical control systems embodied in curricular form. Yet, teachers are not the only actors in the setting where we find this material. There are the students as well.

A number of writers have noted that each kind of social formation 'requires' a particular kind of individual. Williams and others, for instance, have helped us trace the growth of the abstract individual as it developed within the theoretic, cultural, and economic practices of capitalism (Williams, 1961; Macpherson, 1962). These are not simply changes in the definition of the individual, but imply changes in our actual modes of material and cultural producing, reproducing, and consuming. To be an individual in our society signifies a complex interconnection between our day-to-day meanings and practices and an 'external' mode of production. While I do not mean to imply a simple base/superstructure model here, it is clear that in some very important ways there is a dialectical relationship between economic and ideological form. As Gramsci and others would put it, ideological hegemony sustains class domination; subjectivities cannot be seen as unrelated to structure. Yet the questions remain: How are they related? Where are the sites where this relationship is worked out? The school provides a critical point at which one can see these things working out. As Richard Johnson (1978: 232) notes, 'It is not so much a question that schools . . . *are* ideology, more that they are the sites where ideologies are produced in the form of subjectivities.'

But what kind of subjectivity, what kind of ideology, what kind of individual may be produced here? The characteristics embodied in the modes of technical control built into the curricular form itself are ideally suited to reproduce the possessive individual, a vision of oneself that lies at the ideological heart of corporate economies.

The conception of individualism located in the material we have been examining is quite similar to those found in other analyses of aspects of the cultural apparatus in our society. As Will Wright has demonstrated, for example, in his recent investigation of the role of cultural artifacts like film as carriers and legitimators of ideological changes, important aspects of our cultural apparatus represent a world in which the society recognizes each member as an individual; but that recognition is dependent almost entirely upon the possession of technical skills. At the same time, while heightening the value of technical competence, these films direct the individual to reject the importance of ethical and political values through their form. They portray an individualism, situated in the context of a corporate economy, in which 'respect and companionship are to be achieved only by becoming a skilled technician.' The individual accepts and does any technical job that is offered and has loyalty to only those with similar technical competence, not primarily 'to any competing social and community values' (W. Wright, 1975: 187).

An examination of these curricular 'systems' illuminates the extent to which this kind of ideological movement is occurring in increasingly dominant curricular forms. Here, the *rate* at which a student proceeds is individualized; however, the actual product as well as the process to be accomplished are specified by the material itself.[17] Thus, it is not 'just' the teacher who faces the encroachment of technical control and deskilling. The students' responses are largely prespecified as well. Much of this growing arsenal of material attempts as precisely as possible to specify appropriate student language and action as well, often reducing it to the mastery of sets of competencies or skills. Here Wright seems correct.

The notion of reducing curriculum to a set of skills is not unimportant in this regard since it is part of the larger process by which the logic of capital helps build identities and transforms cultural meanings and practices into commodities (Aronowitz, 1973: 45). That is, if knowledge in all its aspects (of the logical type of that, how, or to — i.e., information, processes, and dispositions or propensities) is broken down and commodified, like economic capital it can be accumulated. The mark of a good pupil is the possession and acculumation of vast quantities of skills in the service of technical interests. As an ideological mechanism in the maintenance of hegemony this is rather interesting. In the larger society, people consume as isolated individuals. Their worth is determined by the possession of material goods or, as Will Wright noted, of technical skills. The accumulation of such goods or of the 'cultural capital' of technical competence — here atomistic bits of knowledge and skills measured on pre-tests and post-tests — is a technical procedure, one which requires only the mastery of the necessary prior technical skills and enough time to follow the rules, at one's own pace, to their conclusion. It is the message of the new petty bourgeoisie writ large on the ideological terrain of the school.

In fact, one might hypothesize just this, that this kind of movement speaks to the increasing importance in the cultural apparatus of the ideologies of class segments with contradictory class locations, in particular what I have called the new petty bourgeoisie — those groups who make up middle management and technical occupations (E. Wright, 1978: 79). The particular kind of individualism we are witnessing here is an interesting shift from an ideology of individual autonomy, where a person is his or her own boss and controls his or her destiny, to a careerist individualism. Here the individualism is geared towards organizational mobility and advancement by following technical rules. As Eric Wright puts it, for the new petty bourgeoisie, 'individualism is structured around the requirements of bureaucratic advancement' (E. Wright, 1978: 59). It may also be a coded 'reflection' of the increasing proletarianization of white collar work. For, while previously individualism signified some serious sense of autonomy over how one worked and what one produced, for a large portion of white collar employees autonomy has been trivialized (E. Wright, 1978: 81; see also Braverman, 1974). The rate at which one works may be individualized, but the work itself, how it is accomplished, and what the exact specifications of the final product will be, are increasingly being specified.

At this stage, we are left with many questions. When technical control means that the form that the curriculum takes is highly specified, that it is individualized to such an extent that there is little required interaction among the students so that each activity is by necessity viewed as an individual intellectual act of skill, that answers often take the form of simple physical activities (as we saw in the module I discussed earlier), that answers are either correct or incorrect based on the application of technical rules, and this kind of form is what one follows throughout one's elementary school life, what impact does it have on the teachers and students who interact with it at the level of practice each day?

We do have evidence to suggest what procedures of this type do to workers in industry and in offices.

Increasing rationalization and a more sophisticated level of control tend to encourage people to manifest an interesting array of traits: a 'rules orientation' — that is, an awareness of rules and procedures and a habit of following them; greater dependability — that is, performing a job at a relatively consistent level, being reliable and getting the job done even when the rules have to be modified a bit to meet changing day-to-day conditions; and, the 'internalization of the enterprise's goals and values' — that is, conflict is minimized and slowly but surely, there tends to be a homogenization of interests between management and employees (Edwards, 1979: 150-151).[18]

Will this happen in schools as well? This clearly points to the significance of engaging in analyses of what actually happens within the black box of the school. Do teachers and students accept this? Will the gradual introduction of the logic of technical control generate resistances, if only on a cultural level? Will class and work cultures contradict, mediate, or even transform the expected outcomes? (Apple, 1980a; 1980b; 1981). It is to this that we shall now turn.

Resistances

I have not presented an optimistic appraisal here. As the activities of students are increasingly specified, as the rules, processes, and standard outcomes are integrated through and rationalized by the materials themselves, so too are teachers deskilled, reskilled, and anonymized. Students work on material whose form both isolates individuals from each other and establishes the conditions of existence for the possessive individual; the form of the material and the embedded nature of the technical control process does nearly the same for the teacher. Surrounded by a specific logic of control, the objective force of the social relations embodied in the form itself tends to be quite powerful.

Yet I am not arguing for a crude kind of functionalist perspective, where everything is measured by, or is aimed toward, its ability to reproduce an existing static society. The creation of the kind of ideological hegemony 'caused' by the increasing introduction of technical control is not 'naturally' preordained. It is something that is won or lost in particular conflicts and struggles (Johnson, 1979: 70).

On the one hand, teachers will be controlled. As one teacher said about a set of popular material even more integrated and rationalized than the ones I have pointed to here, 'Look, I have no choice. I personally don't like this material, but everyone in the district has to use this series. I'll try to do other things as well, but basically our curriculum will be based on this.'

On the other hand, resistances will be there. This same teacher who disagreed with the curriculum but used it, also was partially subverting it in interesting ways. It was employed only three days a week instead of the five days which were specified. As the teacher put it, 'Listen, if we worked hard we'd finish this stuff in two or three months and besides it's sometimes confusing and boring. So I try to go beyond it as often as possible, *as long as I do not teach what is in the material to be covered by this series next year*.' Thus, as we can see from this last part of her comment, internal conditions make such overt resistances more difficult.

Yet these internal conditions need not preclude teachers from also making these commodified cultural forms their own, to generate their own creative responses to dominant ideologies, in a manner similar to what the counter-cultural groups studied by Marxist ethnographers have done to commodified culture. These groups transformed and reinterpreted the products they bought and used so that they became tools for the creation of alternative pockets of resistance (Willis, 1978). Students and teachers may also find ways of creatively using these systems in ways undreamed of by state bureaucrats or corporate publishing. (I must admit, however, that my repeated observations in classrooms over the last years make me less than totally optimistic that this will always or even very often be the case.)

Other elements in the environment may provide the site for different meanings and practices to evolve, though, even within the curricular form itself. For we should remember that there may be progressive elements within the *content* of the curriculum that con tradict the messages of the form.[19] And it is in the interaction between the content, the form, and the lived culture of the students that subjectivities are formed. No element in this set of relations can be ignored.

This last point about the lived culture of the actors, the students themselves, needs to be stressed. One would expect resistances on the part of students as well, resistances that will be *specific by race, gender, and class*. My earlier quote from Johnson is correct here. The formation of ideologies -- even those of the kind of individual I have examined in this analysis -- is not a simple act of imposition. It is produced by concrete actors and embodied in lived experiences that may resist, alter, or mediate these social messages (Johnson, 1978). As Willis demonstrates, for instance, segments of working class youth partially defeat the ideology of individualism. The same may be true for many women and 'minority' students. While we can and must focus on these resistances, though, their actual meaning may be unclear. Do they, like those of the lads in Willis' book, also reproduce at an even deeper level ideological meanings and practices that provide quite powerful supports to relations of domination? (Willis, 1977).

Take teachers, for example. While technical controls could possibly lead to unionization, within the school most resistances that occur will be, by necessity, on an individual not a collective level because of the very social relations generated by the curricular form itself (Edwards, 1979: 154). The effects, hence, can be rather contradictory.

We must remember as well that, as I mentioned earlier, these more 'invisible' modes of control may be accepted if they are perceived as coming from a legitimate overall structure. The fact that curriculum selection committees give teachers a say in the curriculum they will employ means that some of the prior conditions for the consent necessary for this kind of control to be successful have already been laid. The choice is made, in part, by the teachers themselves. It is hard to argue in the face of that.

Again this does not mean that contradictions will not be generated out of this very act of including teachers in the decision-making process. The fiscal crisis faced by many school systems which originally reorganized their curricular programs around 'systematic' and rationalized material will exacerbate these contradictions. For example, once the curriculum is in place, the original subsidized costs become fixed costs assumed by the local school district. As school budgets are voted down more and more, money is not made available to purchase new material or replace outdated ones. Any 'surplus' money may have to go into the ongoing purchase of the consumable material, tests, etc. required by the rationalized curriculum. One is slowly left with expensive 'dinosaurs'. The economics of this are essential if we are to see the contradictory pressures this will evoke. Since the state apparatus has expanded the range of participation in curriculum decision-making by selection committees (which sometimes now include parents as well as teachers), yet the selected material can often not be replaced because of its expense later on, the state opens up new spaces of opposition (Donald, 1979). The growth of the discourse of rights of selection (a right which cannot now be acted upon in any significant way) is objectively at odds with the economic context in which the state currently finds itself, thereby transforming the issue into a potentially volatile one (Gintis, 1980).

These potential conflicts, however, may be mitigated by rather powerful economic and ideological conditions that may seem all too real to many of the individuals employed within the state. And the very same pressures may have important and similar implications for those teachers who may in fact recognize the impact that rationalization and control are having on them.

Thus, it is easy to forget something: that this is not a good time, ideologically or economically, for teachers who engage in overt resistances. Given a difficult ideological climate and given the employment situation among teachers today — with thousands having either been laid off or living under the threat of it — the loss of control can progress in a relatively unthreatened way. Deskilling and reskilling, progressive anonymization and rationalization, the transformation of educational work, somehow seem less consequential than such economic concerns as job security, salary, etc., even though they may seem to us to clearly be part of the same dynamic.

When all this is said, though, we must recognize that these powerful social messages, while embedded in the actual experiences of teachers and students as they go about their day-to-day lives in classrooms, *are* highly mediated by other elements. The fact that individual teachers like most other workers may develop patterns of resistance to these patterns of technical control at the informal cultural level alters these messages. The contradictory ideologies of individualism and cooperativeness that are naturally generated out of the crowded conditions of many classrooms (you can't be an isolated individual all the time when there are twenty or thirty other people around with whom one teacher must cope) also provide countervailing possibilities. And lastly, just as blue and white collar workers have constantly found ways to retain their humanity and continually struggle to integrate conception and execution in their work (if only to relieve boredom) so too will teachers and students find ways, in the cracks so to speak, to do the same things. The real question is not whether such resistances exist — Aronowitz, myself, and others have claimed at length elsewhere that they are never far from the surface (Aronowitz, 1978; Apple, 1980b; Burawoy, 1979) — but whether they are contradictory themselves, whether they lead anywhere beyond the reproduction of the ideological hegemony of the most powerful classes in our society, whether they can be employed for political education and intervention.

Our task is first to find them. We need somehow to give life to the resistances, the struggles. What I have done here is to point to the terrain within the school (the transformation of work, the deskilling and reskilling, the technical control, and so on) over which these struggles will be fought. The resistances may be informal, not fully organized or even conscious; yet this does not mean that they will have no impact. For as Gramsci and Johnson (1979) remind us, hegemony is always contested. Our own work should help in this contestation.

Notes

1. I wish to thank Linda McNeil for bringing this material to my attention.

2. This is not to deny the importance of analyzing official documents, especially those emanating from the state. Donald (1979) provides an excellent example of the power of discourse analysis, for example, in unpacking what these documents mean and do.

3. See also the impressive discussion in Braverman (1974) and Burawoy (1979).

4. I have discussed the school's role in producing this knowledge in Apple (1979b).

5. The work of Philip Wexler (in press) of the University of Rochester on the commodification of intimate relations is of importance here.

6. This is not only an American phenomenon. The foreign subsidiaries of the companies who produce these materials are translating and marketing their products in the third world and elsewhere as well. In many ways it is similar to the cultural imperialism of Walt Disney Productions. See, e.g., Dorfman and Mattelart (1975).

7. See, for example, my analysis of science curricula in Apple (1979a).

8. I do not mean to romanticize the past, however. Many teachers probably simply followed the textbook before. However, the level of specificity and the integration of curricular, pedagogical, and evaluative aspects of classroom life into *one* system is markedly different. The use of the system brings with it much more technical control of every aspect of teaching than previous text-based curricula. Obviously, some teachers will not follow the system's rules. Given the level of integration, though, it will undoubtedly be much more difficult to ignore it since many systems constitute the core or only program in that curricular area in the entire school or district. Thus, accountability to the next grade level or to administrators makes it harder to ignore. I shall return to this point later on.

On a more structural and theoretic level, one could also claim, as Levin (1980) does, that this process alienates the teacher from the process and product of his or her activities. Levin's essay also contains an interesting theoretical discussion of both the degree to which this structural alienation of teachers has been an historical development in education and the institutional and economic reasons for such development.

9. This may be similar to what happened in the early mills in New England, when standardized production processes drastically reduced the contact among workers. See Edwards (1979: 114).

10. One could also claim that schools operate to produce use value, not exchange value. (Erik Olin Wright, personal conversation.)

11. Therefore, any outcomes of schooling must be analyzed as the products of cultural, political, and economic resistance as well as determinations. See Willis (1977) and Apple (1980a).

12. I do not want to ignore the question of the relationship between capitalism and bureaucracy. Weber and others were not wrong when they noted that there are needs for rationalization specific to bureaucratic forms themselves. However, neither the *way* bureaucracy has grown in corporate economies nor its effects have been neutral. This is treated in considerably more detail in Clawson (1978). See also Wright (1978).

13. See also Noble (1977) for his account of standardization and its relationship to capital accumulation.

14. Among the reasons for the fact that the state has slowly but surely backed away from such production and distribution is the controversy surrounding *Man: A Course of Study* and, no doubt, the intense lobbying efforts on the part of publishing firms. Corporations will let the government socialize the costs of development, but obviously would prefer to package and distribute the curricula for themselves. See Apple (1977).

15. This is not meant to imply that the state always directly serves the needs of industrial capital. It, in fact, does have a significant degree of relative autonomy and is the site of class conflict as well. See Donald (1979), Wright (1978), and Dale (in press).

16. We should remember, however, that accumulation and legitimation may be in conflict with each other at times. See Wright (1978) for a discussion of these possible contradictions and for an argument about the importance of understanding the way the state and bureaucracies mediate and act back on 'economic determinations'.

On the internal and external pressures for control and accountability within the state, see Wise (1979).

17. Bernstein's work on class and educational codes is interesting here. As he notes, 'The pacing of educational knowledge is class based.' (Bernstein 1977: 113).

18. This does not mean that important resistances and countervailing practices do or will not occur. But they usually occur on the terrain established by capital.

19. Geoff Whitty has been particularly helpful in enabling me to see this point. It should also be recognized that the very fact that industrialists *are* interested in content speaks to the import of content as a contested area.

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4

Teachers conditions

The VSTA Teachers' Conditions program for 1974 sets moderate—even conservative—limits to teaching loads and related duties and responsibilities.

Class-size criteria are unchanged from 1972, although these maxima are obviously too large. The basic criteria for teachers' allotments and preparation and correction allowances are little different from those for 1971.

The program is to be implemented by teachers themselves; by VSTA members insisting that the VSTA criteria for 1974 be fully applied to their teaching conditions in individual schools.

Action is essential.

Officialdom has failed to provide the conditions in which teachers can operate at a proper professional level. In effect, such authorities as the State Government, the Teachers Tribunal and the Education Department have preserved a sub-professional role for teachers.

A similar situation in USA prompted Mr. R. Batchelder, President of the National Education Association, to comment in 1965:

It is frustrating to know how to do something better than one is allowed to do it. It can drain a teacher's competency and make him lose self-respect.

More than 6 years ago the VSTA presented a Conditions Case to the Director-General but dispiriting and completely unacceptable teaching conditions still prevail.

The general public accepts these long standing low standards; so do teachers, until they take action to raise them. Improvements will result more from teachers' action than from possible public outcry or official initiative at any stage. Until teaching conditions are improved three obvious requirements will not be met:

(a) Sufficient Teachers

Poor teaching conditions adversely affect staff recruitment and staff retention rates, thus compounding the problems. Efforts to obtain more teachers must be accompanied by improvements in teaching conditions—or neither aim will be achieved. Too few offer to teach under burdensome conditions, and of those who offer, too few remain beyond a year or so to continue carrying the burden.

Let there be no doubt about the seriousness of this situation. During the six years, 1966 to 1971, a staggering 8093 teachers resigned for reasons other than marriage or retirement. (Bear in mind that on 31 March 1966 the total secondary teacher strength was only 7481!)

Recent South Australian research (*Factors Causing Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction Amongst Teachers in South Australia,* South Australian Institute of Teachers, 1972), highly applicable to the similar situation in Victoria, revealed that of the long list of reasons given by the 36% of S.A. high school teachers dissatisfied or only partly satisfied with their career, the seven most frequently given reasons (and a massive 42% of total responses) were aspects of conditions.

Specifically, the seven most frequently mentioned reasons for dissatisfaction were:

1. lack of time
2. large classes

3. extras
4. conflict between idealism and reality
5. teaching load too heavy
6. interruptions in lessons from non-professional duties
7. too many non-teaching duties.

Those factors are the very things that VSTA Conditions Policy tackles. If the Victorian Education Department seriously intended to overcome the enormous morale and resignation problem, they would have already implemented VSTA Conditions Policy. Since they haven't done so, teachers must continue to implement the Policy themselves.

Departmental officials refer monotonously to annual increases in the number of secondary teachers in training and to annual increases in the number of secondary teachers employed, regardless of whether these increases meet the need, provide adequate compensation for the resignation rate, or give promise of permanent improvement in the staffing situation.

To further confuse the issue, Departmental officials trot out the argument that the Department employs more secondary teachers than it would if it employed fewer. This is achieved by comparing Departmental staffing 'targets' with the absurdly inadequate schedule laid down by the Teachers Tribunal (1 teacher per 20 pupils up to 200, and 1 per 25 thereafter). But this does not prove adequacy because it conveniently dodges the task of defining adequate criteria.

VSTA Conditions program criteria on allotment maxima for teachers are based on practical needs in the schools — conservatively estimated at present.

Full implementation of the Conditions program will oblige the Department to use VSTA criteria as a basis for minimum estimates of staff required, and therefore for its planning of training and recruitment programs.

(b) Quality Education

Teachers have accepted the greater burdens associated with curriculum change and new methods of teaching.

A case could have been made for postponing these educational changes until teaching conditions had improved considerably. However, secondary teachers, through the VSTA, have refused to countenance any such postponement and have insisted on simultaneous efforts to impove the students' educational program and teachers' conditions. But unless teachers' conditions are rapidly improved, teachers will be unable to take curriculum change and new teaching methods as far as their wishes and the needs of the students require.

The VSTA is determined to ensure that teachers' efforts to enrich the educational program of the pupils proceed apace. To enable these educational changes to proceed at a desirable rate, it is essential that the VSTA Teachers' Conditions program for 1974 be implemented in full.

Adequate Accommodation

Unless class sizes are reduced, schools will be built to accommodate large classes. Then it can be claimed that class sizes cannot be reduced because school buildings cannot accommodate a larger number of smaller classes.

This is the line taken by Mr. Schruhm, Director of Secondary Education in his 1972 circular to Principals (T72/1430).

Of course this argument is valid only if you insist that the pupil-day or pupil-week cannot be reduced. This is precisely what Mr. Schruhm does in insisting that pupils in Forms 1-4 have at least 5 hours per day class-time for 5 days per week.

A neat trick, worthy of our seediest politicians, but secondary teachers should not fall for it, although some Principals might find it convenient to accept it and try to implement it.

The VSTA Conditions program provides otherwise. Accommodation problems can be eased by reducing the pupil-week until such time as accommodation and the staffing situation improve. Such an approach is likely to speed up the provision of adequate accommodation and staffing.

Basic Principles of VSTA Conditions
(1) Redefinition of Allotments

The 1971 Conditions program introduced a different approach to allotments from that previously familiar to most teachers. Until then, most teachers had regarded as their weekly teaching allotment the number of class periods they taught. Now, however, the more realistic all-inclusive VSTA maximum workload of forty 40 minute periods is the accepted yardstick.

Under the Conditions program an allotment includes:

☐ time spent with classes;

☐ time spent on supervisory duties (yard, sport, bus, private study supervision, etc.);

☐ time allowed for preparation and correction;

☐ time allowed for other responsibilities (subject co-ordination, form co-ordination, aspects of general school organization, VSTA Representative).

The VSTA approach to calculating allotments thus takes into account *all* the relevant types of work a teacher must do, and not just teaching.

On this basis an allotment of 40 periods would be normal; an allotment of less than 40 periods would be permissible; no allotment should exceed 40 periods.

The time allowed for preparation and correction is not sufficient for the completion of all such work, much of which would still be done in the teacher's own time. As defined since 1971, this allowance merely recognizes that a teacher should receive some school time for this purpose.

(2) Teaching Loads Limited

The maximum allotment of 40 periods ensures that limits will be imposed on the duties allotted to teachers.

The tasks undertaken by the school will thus match the staff resources available. This sort of limitation is essential at any time, but especially when various authorities, groups and citizens assume that schools have an infinite capacity to accept additional tasks without a corresponding increase in resources.

Furthermore, if all members of staff have their allotments calculated on the all-inclusive VSTA basis, and not on the misleading 'teaching periods only' basis, a school's total workload can be distributed fairly equitably.

For 1974, as in previous years, the criteria set are very moderate indeed, if not conservative. This is one reason for insisting that members implement the 1974 program fully.

It should be stressed that the allotment levels set are maxima, not optima. For example, it should not be claimed that one teacher with a Form 6 class of 15 pupils could be given a smaller allowance for correction time at school than a teacher with a Form 6 class of 25 pupils. The allotment criteria have been set simply and conservatively, as in previous years.

Within the broad categories set, the criteria should be uniformly applied. In this regard, Branches should pay particular attention to the special 5 period allowance for first year teachers. It is unthinkable that this obviously necessary, moderate and long overdue provision should be reduced in any way.

(3) School Reorganization

The main principle of the Conditions program is that teaching duties should be allotted according to the staff resources available and according to the current VSTA criteria.

Anyone who claimed that the 1974 program should be diluted because there were not enough teachers, would show complete misunderstanding of the VSTA approach to Conditions.

If implementing the program in any school would make it impossible to allocate duties on the basis previously used in the school, there are two main methods of proceeding:

(a) dispense with some of the duties which had previously been performed;

(b) reorganize the school in a way which will enable the VSTA criteria to be met.

Note that outside-school-hours classes are not a VSTA-approved method of school reorganization.

The VSTA has published a number of proposals for school reorganization including that published in *VSTA News No. 12, 1970.* This reorganization procedure was stated as follows:

That when a shortage of VSTA-registered teachers will cause teacher-allotments or class-sizes to exceed the maxima set from time to time by the VSTA, and when other VSTA-

approved forms of reorganization are considered less suitable or would fail to prevent such overloading of teachers, the VSTA approves the introduction of a less-than-five-day week for pupils in any or all of Forms 1 to 6. In such cases pupils would be set assignment or other appropriate work to do in their home-study time, and teachers would continue to work a full week as at present.

It is likely that most schools will need to make use of the above reorganization procedure to some extent in 1974; many did so during 1971, 1972 and 1973. The pupils' home-study program will depend on the detailed circumstances in individual schools. Whatever the circumstances in different schools, the full VSTA Conditions program for 1974 should be completely implemented in all schools by all VSTA members.

The Director of Secondary Education (in his circular to Principals, T72/1430, referred to above) is attempting to prevent the VSTA reorganization principles from being applied in schools. In so doing he is trying to insist that teachers' conditions cannot be significantly improved until accommodation and staffing problems are overcome in the very distant future. In effect he is claiming that educational quantity is more important than educational quality.

A convenient view for a senior administrator more conditioned to deferential service to politicians than to promoting the interests of the teaching profession and the students.

Members in all schools should assume the obvious — that other schools will be applying the required reorganization procedure.

Each school taking this action provides support for others which are also taking it.

Make sure your school makes its full contribution to this program by implementing it completely, according to the VSTA criteria.

The Conditions program is a most important campaign, and the maximum effect will be achieved by uniform application of the 1974 VSTA standards throughout the State.

TEACHING LOADS

Teachers are to be regarded as on duty for forty 40-minute periods per week (or 26 2/3 hrs.) and this allotment is to be made up of the following teaching and other duties.

Teaching Preparation and Correction
For each 40-minute period taught 20 minutes is to be allowed for preparation and correction, i.e. .5 of a period preparation and correction for each period taught, regardless of form level.

Teachers in their first year of teaching are to be given a 5 period allowance, within their 40 period maximum, to provide the extra time they need for preparation, correction, familiarization with school practices, discussion with co-ordinators and colleagues, etc.

Supervisory Duties
Allowance to be the actual supervision time taken.

Co-ordinators
Co-ordination, subject and form, must be carried out by the senior members of staff below the Principal class willing to act as co-ordinators.

For 1974, the total number of co-ordinators in a school shall be not less than one-third of the total number of equivalent full-time staff, below the Principal class.

(i) Co-ordinators of subjects with up to 60 periods per week — 3 period allowance.

(ii) Co-ordinators of forms containing 150 pupils or less — 3 period allowance.

(iii) Co-ordinators of subjects with more than 60 periods per week — 5 period allowance.

(iv) Co-ordinators of forms containing more than 150 pupils — 5 period allowance.

Form Teachers

1 period allowance.

Sports Organization

These duties are to receive the following total allowances:

for less than 600 pupils—6 periods.
for 600-900 pupils—8 periods.
for over 900 pupils—10 periods.

Principals and Deputy Principals

These are to be regarded as additional appointments and excluded from the staffing schedule.

General Organization

These duties allotted to teachers below the Principal class (e.g. timetable, discipline, etc.) are to receive a total allowance of at least 40 periods.

(In schools which do not have Form Co-ordinators, the general organization allowance should be increased to include the allowances set for *Form Co-ordinators (ii) and (iv)* above.)

In schools which allot most of these duties to a Senior Master and/or Senior Mistress, the two teachers with greatest responsibilities below the Principal class should be given at least 40 periods between them for general organizational duties.

Compulsory assemblies, subject-meetings, etc.

If regularly time-tabled these are part of the allotment.

VSTA Branch Responsibilities Allowance

For 1974 the Central Committee has decided that an allowance of up to 5 periods per week can be claimed for the many and time-consuming duties which have to be done by those who accept VSTA branch responsibilities.

The Committee believes that the educational importance of so much VSTA policy formulation and implementation is such that at least some tangible recognition ought to be given to the work of the Association at branch level. In addition, as the scope of VSTA Professional Action policies has continued to extend, Branch officials have been asked to shoulder increasing demands on behalf of the Association. At this stage the Association makes the moderate and very reasonable claim of *up to* 5 periods per week, the amount and allocation of the allowance to be recommended to the school administration by those best placed to decide namely, the branch signatories. Branch signatories are advised not to take action over the allowance without first consulting the VSTA Office.

Voluntary Duties

Teachers who voluntarily perform duties above and outside their allotment would not add those duties into the formula that determines their "on-duty" maximum. For example, a teacher who voluntarily took football, etc., after school could not add that into his on-duty allotment.

Excursions

When an "excursion" means that a teacher who remains at school misses some of his normal allotted classes, the teacher concerned may take classes for teachers involved in the "excursion" up to the number of classes that the teacher (the one remaining at the school) would have taken had there been no excursion. These classes would not be counted as extras. This means, for example, that if an excursion is held on a Tuesday and as a result Mr. X loses 3 classes that he would have taken had these classes been at school, Mr. X could therefore be expected to take up to 3 classes to cover any teachers absent because of the excursion.

Between-period "Breaks"

Any attempt by a school administration to create between-period breaks *as a device to circumvent Conditions Policy* is unacceptable. In such circumstances branches should insist that this time be consolidated into class time involving preparation and correction, or into duty time; or, failing those, branches should insist that the school day be shortened.

Note

Within the principles implied here, schools should be free to allot teaching and administrative duties with flexibility according to needs.

LIBRARY STAFF

The Association has determined Conditions criteria for Librarians.

This has proved desirable for two main reasons:

Because the conditions of Librarians are in a formative stage, and could develop along unsound lines unless other VSTA members assist Librarians in achieving suitable conditions.

Because in the past, unallotted classes, and classes whose teachers were absent, were often re-routed to the Library—a procedure most unfair to Librarians.

The VSTA decided on the Librarians' Conditions criteria stated below on the basis of policy and suggestions from the School Library Association of Victoria.

Definition of "Librarian"

For the purposes of this policy a "Librarian" is a person who is either:

—a VSTA-registered teacher-librarian or

—A VSTA provisionally-registered teacher-librarian or

—a qualified librarian.

Library Staffing Requirements

The VSTA Committee endorses the School Library Association of Victoria's statement on staffing structure targets, viz., if the library is to operate adequately throughout the full teaching day then there must be a minimum number of staff:

For the first 250 students

2 full-time (or equivalent full-time) librarians, and

2 full-time (or equivalent full-time) ancillary staff (recommendation—one library technician, one typist/clerk).

For each additional 250 students

1 additional (full-time or equivalent full-time) librarian.

For schools with more than 750 students

1 additional (full-time or equivalent full-time) library technician.

Note: Library staff are to be additional to the staffing schedule. This in no way implies acceptance of the present staffing schedule.

General Provisos

(a) The use of the library should at all times be arranged in consultation with the head of the library staff.

(b) In the event of staff absences or deficiencies, classes should not be sent to the library for supervision by librarians.

(c) Librarians should take scheduled library periods only when they consider these periods to be a necessary and worthwhile part of the library program.

(d) Librarians should not be required to take responsibility for the supervision of private study groups not using library materials.

(e) Library staff other than librarians should not be required to take responsibility for any classes or groups of students.

(f) All library staff must be given a one hour lunch break between 11.30 a.m. and 2.00 p.m.

(g) It is recognized that apart from more routine work which should really be performed by technicians or clerks, librarians will always need sufficient time away from student contact to perform such time-consuming roles as liaison with teaching staff, selection and evaluation of books and materials, and classification, cataloguing and subject indexing of books and materials.

(h) It is also recognized that the library should be closed at certain times of the year for stocktaking and other purposes.

(i) Extras. In previous years teacher-librarians, like other teachers, have fallen within the ambit of VSTA extras policy. But for 1974, to maximize the availability of library resources to students, the Central Committee has determined that teacher-librarians allotted entirely to library work, should not be required to take any extras. (Provided, of course, that they are VSTA members and signatories to the Conditions Statement.)

Allotments

(a) When there is only one full-time (or equivalent full-time) librarian in a school, a maximum of 20 forty-minute periods or 13 1/3 hours may be spent in direct contact with students, i.e.

classes rigidly timetabled or

research groups operating a flexible timetable or

supervision of private study groups of 15 or more students using library resources or

library duty during lunchtime.

(b) When there are two full-time (or equivalent full-time) librarians, the two between them may be in direct contact with students for up to 40 periods (26 2/3 hours) per week.

(c) When there are three or more (full-time or equivalent full-time) librarians, an average maximum of 20 periods (13 1/3 hours) per librarian may be spent in direct contact with students.

(d) The effect of these maximum allotments is that the library shall be closed to students for the remaining school time.

(e) Note that the above allotments are conservative, and are to operate in addition to the *General Provisos* listed above.

CLASS SIZES

For 1974 (as in 1972 and 1973) maximum class-sizes will be:

Form 1-4 35 pupils
Form 5 30 pupils
Form 6 25 pupils.

These targets were set in 1967 to be achieved by 1972 (the 1967 decision envisaged a further five-pupil reduction of class-size maxima at the above levels for the 1976 school year).

These class sizes are clearly maxima, and the size of any class must be determined by:

(a) facilities available,
(b) safety of students,
(c) special educational needs.

Branch signatories are advised to use the above criteria in considering the desirability of class sizes below the maxima, and to consult the Association for advice in cases where action may be required on this matter.

It is also suggested that schools should organise classes sufficiently below the maxima to allow for growth during the year.

In determining class size for the purpose of implementing the VSTA Conditions program, class size shall mean the net number on the roll for a class and not the number actually present in any class at any time.

The ultimate aim is to reduce the size of all classes.

EXTRAS

An 'Extra' is a class to be supervised due to the absence of a member of staff.

A 'Phantom Extra' results from allotting classes and duties to a non-existent teacher (one who has left the school or has not yet arrived in the school). They are not to be regarded as "extras" and should not be taken as such.

Basic policy is that the taking of "extras" be discontinued as soon as possible. The aim is to phase "extras" out, not to build them into allotments.

The Association will make further vigorous representations to the Education Department and to the Teachers Tribunal for the provision of adequate pools of VSTA registered relieving teachers. (See below for further details.)

(a) For 1974, up to one period above a teacher's 40 period weekly allotment shall be allowed for the taking of extras.

(b) Extras for Form 6 should not be taken at all, and, further, where an extra occurs in the last period of the day, the class (Form 1-6) should be dismissed, except where this procedure is impracticable because of unavoidable difficulties with school transport, such as bus arrangements in country schools.

(c) Classes should not be redistributed in lieu of extras.

(d) Re-allocation of any organizational duties due to the absence of a member of staff must not increase any allotment beyond the VSTA maximum.

Background

In 1971 the VSTA set a time-table which envisaged phasing out extras by 1974. This time-table has since been extended to 1975. Thus, for Conditions Program signatories, there is a maximum of one extra per week in 1974: no extras for 1975.

The VSTA's 1973 Tribunal submission called for 800 relieving teachers to be organized on a regional basis, e.g. groups of 6 schools in the country, and 4, preferably 8 metropolitan regions.

The Tribunal saw fit to establish only 100 relieving teacher positions, and insisted that they be organized on a State-wide basis, i.e. relieving teachers have to be prepared to do relief teaching anywhere in Victoria. Not surprisingly there were only 13 applications for the 100 relieving positions advertised in 1973. The Association will continue to press its case.

Meanwhile, the more teachers who become VSTA members, sign the Conditions Program and take no more than one extra per week, the more pressure will be created for an adequate system of relieving teachers. Apart from which, the minimal preparation and correction time teachers get can be used almost entirely for its proper and important purposes.

All Conditions policies are to become operative in schools from and including March 1, 1974.

Variations of the Conditions program for 1975 will be put to the Committee by the Conditions Subcommittee no later than the 1974 July Committee Meeting, for final decision no later than the 1974 August Committee Meeting.

Branches are immediately requested to forward suggestions for alterations to the Conditions program for 1975.

(Note: Schools operating experimental programs such as team teaching, open classrooms, etc., should make appropriate adjustments while conforming in principle to the criteria laid down. The Committee requests that such schools forward reports on their application of the Conditions program.)

ACTION PROCEDURE ON CONDITIONS

SIGNATORIES ONLY

FOR IMPLEMENTATION FROM 1 MARCH 1974

SIGNATORIES' STATEMENT TO PRINCIPAL

At the start of the year, each VSTA Branch Committee should inform the Principal of the school that the VSTA Conditions program will be carried out in 1974.

Branch Committees should discuss teaching allotments, class sizes and the taking of "extras" with the school administration, seeking to gain an undertaking that the criteria will be met.

Before March 1st, the Branch Committee should also present to the Principal a list of names of those members who are prepared to take any necessary action to implement the program.

The signatories' Statement to the Principal should be delivered as soon after the start of the school year, and as much before March 1st, as practicable.

The statement could take the following form:—

"We, the undersigned members of the . . . Branch of the Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association, hereby inform the Principal of . . . high school that we intend to carry out the Association's Policy on Teachers' Conditions as set out in the 1974 VSTA Professional Action booklet."

Note that signatories of the Statement to the Principal should be VSTA members.

In the Conditions program, the Association offers support to members only, except for librarians ineligible for membership.

The Conditions program succeeds because of VSTA solidarity, and non-members should be encouraged to recognize this, join the Association, and become Conditions program signatories.

All VSTA-registered State secondary teachers are eligible for VSTA membership, whether permanent or temporary, whether full-time or part-time teachers, or whether Librarians with VSTA-approved librarian qualifications.

ACTION AFTER MARCH 1

If by March 1, 1974, the school administration has failed to meet VSTA criteria on allotments, class size and 'extras', the VSTA Branch after obtaining advice from the VSTA Office, should implement policy, taking the following action:

(a) Allotments:

If exceeded, teachers take classes each week until the maximum allotment has been reached, and refuse further classes for that week; all of the VSTA signatories of the Branch Statement to the Principal may stop when the first teacher has reached the maximum "on-duty" allotment of 40 periods as defined in the VSTA policy on allotments. Note that the 5 period allowance for first year teachers will mean that they could well be the first to reach their maximum; fellow signatories should be particularly prepared to stop in support of their first year colleagues. In this context "stop" can mean leaving classrooms to engage in other professional activities; or it can mean ceasing duty altogether for a certain time, involving absence from the school; this choice is at the discretion of the signatories in consultation with the VSTA. Groups of signatories who wish to vary this procedure should first seek advice from the VSTA Office.

(b) Extras:

Take no more than one in any week, and do not accept into your class pupils redistributed in lieu of extras.

In a case where the extras policy is exceeded by the administration, the teacher concerned should refuse to take the offending allocation, i.e. the additional extra. If the signatory to the case is instructed to then take that extra all signatories should immediately stop work for the remainder of the day. The Branch should then contact the VSTA Office with a view to discussing conditions of return on the next day.

Where 'phantom' extras arise, the Branch should meet and request the school administration to re-organize classes. To allow such re-organization, members would be gracious enough to take such duties for one week.

(c) Class Size:

All teachers of any class which exceeds the maximum laid down above should inform the Principal that they will not take such a class, the VSTA Branch at the same time reporting the situation to the VSTA Office. Note that on grounds of safety, facilities or special educational needs, and after consultation with the VSTA Office, branches may insist on classes being smaller than the maxima laid down.

VICTIMIZATION

As one would expect, the history of victimization on this issue is neither honourable nor clean.

The government's penal regulations are no longer with us.

The Director-General's charges against individual teachers supporting VSTA policy have lingered longer.

Victimization, arising from Conditions action in support of VSTA policy, may take many forms:

(i) An instruction from the Principal or Deputy Principal or member of School Administration to any member of the VSTA who is a signatory to the Branch Statement to take action which is contrary to VSTA policy.

The direction is unacceptable, and upon receipt of such an order by any signatory, all signatories will be immediately on stopwork until they decide to return after consultation with the VSTA Office.

On return, the signatories should request the school administration to correct the situation and, if this fails, they may resume stopwork after further consultation with the VSTA Office.

(ii) Questioning, by a member of the school or Department administration, of a VSTA member in connection with action taken as a signatory of the Conditions program. Such questioning could be intended to lead to formal charges, fines, dismissals, transfers, threats to withhold increments, etc.

Should any member receive any instruction, verbal or written, purporting to direct him to answer questions about his conduct in support of VSTA policy, he should immediately advise the VSTA Office.

Members are strongly advised not to make any written statement or to give any detailed explanation of their conduct in these matters without detailed VSTA advice.

Members should not be intimidated by correspondence or verbal "commands" when supporting VSTA policy, but should instead immediately contact the VSTA Office.

Problems arising from a member following VSTA policy are not a matter for the individual; on the contrary, all dealings must be between the VSTA and the Education Department. VSTA members who take action in support of Association policies and who as a result are summoned to appear before officers of either the Education Department or the Teachers Tribunal should, **after consultation with officers of the VSTA,** inform the Director-General or the Teachers Tribunal in writing that, since the matter will be dealt with by their Association, they will not appear in person.

If victimization occurs, the Branch should call a meeting during school hours to discuss Branch action, and the Branch report the situation to the VSTA Office with a view to stronger action being taken.

The Central Committee considers that mere verbal or written protests are unlikely to be an adequate response to attempts to intimidate teachers who have taken professional action in support of VSTA policies. The Central Committee has therefore empowered the Executive to take prompt appropriate action if teachers are intimidated or victimized.

The Executive has a mandate to act promptly, and has so acted; it is prepared to do so again if the circumstances warrant it. Members are advised to keep in contact with the VSTA Office when problems arise.

ACCOMMODATION

School reorganization introducing a shorter pupil-day or pupil-week can help to overcome the problem of insufficient accommodation for students. In addition, the 1972 Annual General Meeting decided:

That, in consultation with the VSTA Central Committee or Executive, Branches of the VSTA be encouraged and empowered to take immediate and appropriate action (e.g. boycott) over physical conditions and accommodation relevant to that school.

To implement the AGM decision, the Committee has decided on the following procedures:

Branches who have severe accommodation problems (insufficient or sub-standard accommodation) to advise the VSTA Office in writing, giving details and requesting assistance.

Where necessary and in urgent cases after approval by VSTA Central Committee or Executive, the Branch to be empowered to take immediate and appropriate action (e.g. boycott) over physical conditions and accommodation relevant to that school.

In less urgent cases the following procedures, where appropriate, could apply. In relevant cases the Executive might advise Branches to approach the Principal and urge him to invite the appropriate Council health officer to survey the school and report on its conformity to Health regulations.

(i) The Executive to decide whether the matter warrants further investigation.

(ii) Write to the Minister of Education asking for immediate action.

Meanwhile a Branch is to decide what action it is prepared to take if nothing is done to remedy the situation within three months of a letter being sent to the Minister of Education.

Inform the VSTA in writing.

The VSTA will then seek a deputation to the Minister of Education. If this fails the Branch will take action as determined by the Executive in consultation with the Branch.

SUBJECT AND FORM CO-ORDINATION

If any of the minimum conditions of VSTA policy affecting Subject and Form Co-ordinators' allowances is contravened, all signatories of the VSTA Branch Statement to the Principal in the school concerned shall claim two additional preparation periods in their allotments.

STICK TOGETHER

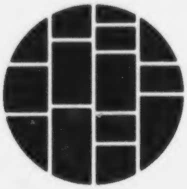
The Branch Committee should ensure that signatories remain firm and united in implementing the program, and do not allow the school administration to isolate individual teachers and coax or coerce them to further compromise on the compromises already built in to the 1974 VSTA Conditions criteria. In particular, the Branch Committee should warn and protect first year teacher signatories.

A VSTA letter has been sent to Principals, seeking their co-operation in implementation of the 1974 VSTA Conditions program. Although it is reasonable to expect the co-operation of Principals, the VSTA has not asked them to take the initiative in implementing the program. The initiative should be taken by Branch Committees and other VSTA members.

However, if any Principals fail to co-operate, the other details of the action procedure should be implemented from March 1, 1974. Branch Committees and other VSTA members are urged to make the strongest possible efforts to convince Principals before March 1, so that further action to implement the program will be unnecessary.

Source: *Secondary Teacher*, no. 192, Jan.–Feb. 1974, pp. 9–14

Annotated bibliography



Basic reading

Marx, K., *Capital*, vol. 1, tr. D. Fernbach, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1975.
This book provides an examination of the labour process from which the social relations that distinguish between labour and capital arise. There are many other editions of this book.

Marx, K., and Engels, F., 'Manifesto of the Communist Party', in L. S. Feuer (ed.), *Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy*, Fontana, London, 1972.
A statement of the class conflict that exists between labour and capital.

Recent studies of class

Carchedi, G., *On the Economic Identification of Social Classes*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1977.
Carchedi identifies social classes on the basis of (a) ownership of the means of production; (b) performance of surplus labour, and (c) the functions of the 'collective worker' and the 'global capitalist'. The 'new middle class' may control production, but it does not own the means of production.

Ehrenreich, B. and Ehrenreich, J., 'The professional managerial class', *Radical America*, Mar.–Apr., 1977, pp. 6–31.
The Ehrenreichs argue that a new class — the professional managerial class — has emerged between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Its major function is the 'reproduction of capitalist culture and capitalist class relations'.

Poulantzas, N., *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*, New Left Books, London, 1975.
In an attempt to explain modern society, Poulantzas differentiates between workers in productive labour, and unproductive workers. The 'new middle class' is made up of unproductive labour.

Wright, E. O., *Class Structure and Income Differentiation*, Academic Press, New York, 1980.
Wright empirically examines the relevance of class analysis in studying contemporary society. To explain the structure of present society he puts forward contradictory class locations. These exist as locations which have some characteristics of the basic classes: the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, and the *petite bourgeoisie*.

Class and the labour process

Braverman, H., *Labor and Monopoly Capital: Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1974.
A brilliant book which extends Marx's arguments in *Capital*, vol. 1. As the book's subtitle suggests, Braverman argues it is a myth that increasing technology requires a more highly skilled labour force. Rather work is being transformed and deskilled to such an extent that all that is needed from the worker is an 'obedient, dumb, and mechanical application of human strength, devoid of all that is original, ingenious or creative'.

Edwards, K. C., *Contested Terrain*, Basic Books, New York, 1979.
Edwards has written an outstanding book on the conflict between capital and labour, and the control systems devised by employers to mitigate it.

He puts forward three control systems: simple, technical, and bureaucratic. These have not developed naturally but result from an effort to limit worker control and to maximise output. Thus capital evolves new forms of organisational control in order to subsume efforts by workers to maintain some control over the labour process.

Friedman, A. L., *Industry and Labour*, Macmillan, London, 1977.
Friedman argues that methods of direct control implemented by capital may effect profits negatively. Thus to ensure continuing productivity and profitability, capital allows it workers 'responsible autonomy'. By giving more status, the management hopes to be rewarded by worker loyalty.

Montgomery, D., *Worker's Control in America*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1979.
Montgomery presents a collection of seven essays which emphasises the resistance shown by workers toward attempts by capital to maximise profit. Historically, these essays point out the importance that control of the labour process has played in the struggle between labour and capital.

Noble, D., *America By Design*, Knopf, New York, 1979.
Noble traces the rise of the engineering profession against the backdrop of the growth of modern technology and corporate capitalism. The new profession consciously sought to work for capitalist purposes, profit, and control rather than any humane structuring of the labour process.

Education

Addinsall, J., Conflict in the public sector, PhD thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, 1981.
An excellent portrayal of the contestation between two antagonistic 'classes'. Through this dialectic of conflict the 'real' organisation of secondary schools in Victoria evolves.

Apple, M. W., *Ideology and Curriculum*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1979.
An outstanding attempt to locate education within a class, cultural, and economic context.

Apple, M. W., 'The other side of the hidden curriculum: correspondence theories and the labor process', *Interchange*, vol. 11, no. 3, 1980, pp. 5–22.
Excellent essay, which locates educational problems within the context of the labour process.

Apple, M. W., 'Reproduction, contestation and curriculum: an essay in self-criticism', *Interchange*, vol. 12, nos 2–3, 1981, pp. 27–47.
In this paper, Apple reflects on his earlier work, especially *Ideology and Curriculum*. He argues that his perspective of education has progressed to incorporate the way contestation and resistances operate to mould the 'reality' of education.

Ashenden, D., Connell, R., Dowsett, G., and Kessler, S., 'Class and secondary schooling', *Discourse*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1980, pp. 1–19.
A paper resulting from the authors' *The School, Home and Work Project*, an ethnographic study of secondary schools in Sydney and Adelaide. They argue that there is no hidden master cause of educational inequality, but rather a multitude of factors which are familiar to all engaged in education.

Buswell, C., 'Pedagogic change and social change', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1980, pp. 293–306.
Buswell applies the concept of deskilling to the contradictory class location of teachers. She argues that new curriculum packages involve the deskilling of teachers. This will result in their increasing proletarianisation.

Connell, R., Ashenden, D., Kessler, S., and Dowsett, G., *Making the Difference*, Allan & Unwin, Melbourne, 1982.
A report of the study from which the Ashenden et al. paper (above) was derived. They see class and its influence on education in terms of relationships. Thus an idea of the connection between individuals and class can be best grasped by asking the question: 'Into which class relation does this person enter?'.

Giroux, H. A., *Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling*, Falmer Press, London, 1981.
A collection of six essays in which Giroux develops the argument that progressive change in education will come about through reflection and resistance to the dominant ideology.

Giroux, H. A., 'Schooling and the myth of objectivity', *McGill Journal of Education*, vol. 16, no. 3, 1981, pp. 282–304.
In this paper, Giroux examines the concept of the hidden curriculum. He argues that the concept has uses in comprehending the way social and cultural reproduction is achieved. The concept is also of use when viewing schools as terrains of contestation and resistance.

Grace, G., *Teachers, Ideology and Control*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1978.
Grace attempts to examine the historical origins of the teachers of the urban working class. This is examined within the context of a 'middle-class' ideology through which teachers are insidiously controlled through concepts like 'professional' and 'a good teacher'.

Lindsey, J. K., 'Social class in the educational system', *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1981, pp. 299–319.
An interesting analysis of classes based on productive and non-productive criteria in relation to the educational systems in seven advanced capitalist societies.

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